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ANNALS

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

ANNALS

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION;

OR,

A CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF

Its Principal Events;

WITH A VARIETY OF

ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS

HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED.

F 1560

BY

A. T. BERTRAND DE MOLEVILLE,

MINISTER OF STATE.

TRANSLATED

BY R. C. DALLAS, ESQ.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT OF THE AUTHOR, WHICH HAS NEVER BEEN PUBLISHED.

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THE King, reduced to the fatal neceſſity of forming a new Miniſtry at a moment when it was impoſſible for him to call upon a ſingle individual on whoſe attachment he could depend, appeared more affected and uneaſy than ever at the danger of his ſituation. Inſtead of the air of contempt and indifference with which he had till then borne the inſults and outrages he had been expoſed to by the audacity of the Aſſembly and the rage of the Jacobins, conſternation and dejection were marked on his countenance in the melancholy Council of the 10th of March, the laſt I ever attended.

The next day M. *Cahier de Gerville* made a report to the Aſſembly of the alarming progreſs of the civil and religious troubles, and of the anarchy which prevailed in almoſt all the departments of the kingdom. He pointed out, at the ſame time, the means which appeared to him beſt adapted to counteract them. "It is my duty," ſaid he, "in the laſt moments of my career, "to preſs the meaſures which the ſafety of "the State imperiouſly require. I beſeech "the Aſſembly to conſider that public li-"berty, the exiſtence of ſociety, in a word,

" the country is in danger: I am convinced " of it in my mind, and muſt not con- " ceal it: I repeat, the country is in " danger."

Accounts of the calamities which deſolated France were ſo often laid before the Aſſembly, that they no longer made any impreſſion upon them; but they took particular notice of the expreſſion in M. *Cahier de Gerville*'s ſpeech where he alluded to his retreat. Although it had been mentioned for ſome days in ſeveral of the public papers, and although it was not difficult to divine the motives of it, yet the faction affected to think it compulſive, that the odium of the digrace of a Miniſter, who had given ſuch great proofs of patriotiſm, might be thrown upon the King. For this purpoſe, one of the Members of the Aſſembly obſerved, that no one who was convinced that the country was in danger ſhould quit his poſt, unleſs there were ſuch preſſing reaſons for it as could not be overcome. He propoſed, in conſequence, that the Miniſter for the Interior ſhould be called upon to declare whether his reſignation were voluntary, or had been deſired by the King. Had this queſtion been put to M. *Cahier de Gerville*, his anſwer

anſwer would have deſtroyed the effect propoſed by the motion; and great care was therefore taken not to inſiſt upon it ſo far.

The next day, at the opening of the Sitting, one of the principal ſpeakers of the anti-miniſterial faction (*Guadet*) obſerved, that the decree of impeachment paſſed againſt M. *de Leſſart* would bear the ſtamp of paſſion and partiality, if the Aſſembly appeared indifferent to the denunciations made againſt the other Miniſters: he therefore moved that the Committee of Legiſlation ſhould be directed to give an account in the next Sitting of the denunciations which ſtood againſt the Miniſter of Juſtice. Several Members immediately moved new articles of impeachment againſt him, which were all received with unbounded applauſe, and referred to the Committee, to be included in their report, which was put off till the next day.

M. *Duport du Tertre* being informed in time of what was paſſing, and fearing the fate of M. *de Leſſart*, haſtened to the Aſſembly, and demanded a copy of the twenty articles of impeachment moved againſt him, offering to anſwer them in the moſt ſatis-

factory manner before the end of the Sitting. It was not till after a debate ſo tumultuous, that the Preſident was obliged to put on his hat to reſtore calm, that this ſimple and legal demand was granted: but the copy the Miniſter of Juſtice had demanded was given to him ſo late, that he was obliged to paſs the night in drawing up his anſwers: theſe he read the next day to the Aſſembly, who referred them to the Committee, and ordered them to be printed.

M. *Duport du Tertre*, *Tarbé*, and *Cahier de Gerville*, all gave in their reſignations between the 15th and 20th of March.

The new Miniſtry were compoſed of M. *Duranthon* for the department of juſtice, M. *de Grave* for that of war, *de la Coſte* for the marine, *de Claviere* for that of the finances, and *Dumourier* for foreign affairs. The laſt, a month before his nomination, was at Niort, where he had been forced to take refuge from his creditors. M. *de Leſſart* being informed that he was the intimate friend of *Genſonné*, imagined that *Dumourier*'s good offices might be of ſervice to him with this deputy, who was a Member of the Diplomatic Committee, and one of M. *de Leſſart*'s moſt inveterate perſecutors.

In

In this hope, he wrote a miniſterial letter to *Dumourier*, who had long ſolicited an employment in the diplomatic line, and deſired him to come immediately to Paris, where he would be informed of the King's intentions; at the ſame time he ſent ſix thouſand livres to enable him to clear off the debts which he might have contracted in Poitou.

Dumourier haſtened to Paris, not doubting but the ſituation of Miniſter Plenipotentiary, at leaſt, was intended for him. Upon his arrival, he flew to M. *de Leſſart*. The Miniſter told him that nothing was yet decided, but that a change would ſoon take place in the Diplomatic body; and, as he intended to propoſe him to the King for one of the places which was to be vacated, he wiſhed to have ſome converſation with him firſt, that he might be able to judge in what ſituation his ſervices would be moſt uſeful. M. *de Leſſart* then ſpoke to him of the oppoſition he experienced in the Aſſembly from ſome of the principal Deputies. At the name of *Genſonné*, *Dumourier* interrupted the Miniſter:

"As for him," ſaid he, "he is my inti-
"mate friend, and entirely at my diſpoſal;

" I not only undertake to put an end to his " attacks againſt you, but even to bring " him to receive your commands to-morrow " morning, if you pleaſe."

M. *de Leſſart* readily agreed to this propoſal. Accordingly *Genſonné* accompanied *Dumourier* next day; expreſſed much regret at having miſunderſtood the Miniſter's intentions, which had led him to oppoſe his meaſures; and, at length, promiſed entirely to change his conduct.

M. *de Leſſart* was very well ſatisfied with this interview; conceived great hopes of benefit from it, and exulted in the lucky idea which had ſtruck him of calling *Dumourier* to Paris. The General was not long before he perceived this, and did not fail to avail himſelf of it with his uſual addreſs. On his third viſit to the Miniſter, he expreſſed a fear of being arreſted by his creditors if he remained longer in Paris. There was no means of retaining him but by paying his debts, which were pretty conſiderable; and the neceſſary ſum was taken from the fund of ſecret expences, which was at the Miniſter's diſpoſal.

Some days after, *Genſonné*, and the other friends whom *Dumourier* had in the Aſſembly,

bly, gave him to underſtand that it would be an eaſier matter for him to ſucceed M. *de Laſſart* than to ſupport him; and in this inſtance, as in many others, ambition triumphed over gratitude.

The Conſtitutional Guard being formed, began to do duty on the 16th of March. At the time of their entering upon it, the King addreſſed the National Guard in a very affecting ſpeech, to expreſs the peculiar ſatisfaction he had felt at the proofs of zeal and attachment they had given him: "In "ſeeing me more nearly," ſaid he, "you "became better acquainted with my inten- "tions and conſtant ſolicitude for the hap- "pineſs of the people. I charge you to "make my real ſentiments known to your "fellow citizens, and to contradict on every "occaſion the falſe rumours which wicked "men ſpread of me and my family, to "raiſe ſuſpicions and diſturb the public "peace. The Pariſian Guard have always "ſet an excellent example; I have only to "engage them to perſiſt, and I ſhould with "pleaſure and confidence march with them "myſelf to defend and ſecure the property "of every citizen, and enſure the reſpect

"and

" and obedience which are due to the
" laws."

The King then addreſſed the new Guard, and told them that he hoped to ſee a perfect union and fraternal cordiality reigning between them and the National Guard. " Al-
" ways remember," added his Majeſty, " that the Conſtitution muſt be your rally-
" ing point with me, and that your attach-
" ment to the nation, and reſpect for the
" law, are the beſt proofs you can give me
" of ſincerity and ardour in ſerving me."

That very night the claims of the National Guard, and their jealouſy of the Conſtitutional Guards, produced ſuch warm diſputes between them relative to the diviſion of the poſts, that the new Guards would probably have been very ſoon maſſacred, had not the King prevented it, by deciding, in compliance with the poſitive demands of the National Guards, that they ſhould do duty within the Palace, and neareſt to his perſon. The conſequence of this was, that the Royal Family, now guarded by 1800 men more, were not the leſs expoſed than before to the inſults of the people, or to the outrages which a great part of the National Guard

themſelves

themſelves might be led to commit by the Revolutionary fanaticiſm, which was perpetually kept up by the manœuvres of the Republican faction, whoſe plots were laid in the Club of the Jacobins. The Members of this Club had a few days before introduced the uſe of the red cap (*bonnet rouge*) in their meetings, to be the diſtinguiſhing mark of the pureſt patriots. It was immediately worn by all the ſubaltern agents; but the people were not at firſt prevailed upon to reliſh it. On the firſt day they made the attempt, I met, juſt as I had left the Palace, a ſcore of theſe ruffians in the ſtreet St. Honoré. Their ſhouts, manner of walking, and dreſs, made me take them for a ſet of workmen coming from a public houſe. No one ſupported their boaſtings; they were pointed at, and the people ſhrugged up their ſhoulders; anger and diſguſt were viſible in the faces of all who ſaw them. On the following days the red caps appeared in greater number in the ſtreets and market places, and were no better received. Nevertheleſs, on the 16th of March, at the French Theatre, after the repreſentation of the Death of Cæſar, the buſt of *Voltaire* was brought upon the ſtage with a red cap on

on its head, and left before the ſpectators till the beginning of the after-piece. As this inauguration of the *bonnet rouge* no more rendered it popular, than honoured the memory of *Voltaire*, *Petion*, informed by the reports of the police of the continuance of the diſcontent and ſquabbles occaſioned by this fatal bonnet, and fearing it might ſoon render the Revolution unpopular, wrote a very patriotic letter to the Club of the Jacobins, and made them ſenſible of the danger and inutility of ſuch an innovation. The Club, with *Robeſpierre* as Preſident, was aſſembled when this letter was brought, and it produced an immediate effect. All the red caps diſappeared at once, not excepting that of the Miniſter *Dumourier*, who happened to be in the tribune with his *bonnet rouge* on, and who like the reſt was obliged to put it in his pocket. The War Miniſter, M. *de Grave*, was alſo at this meeting, but, however, without a red cap.

The period at which the King was under the neceſſity of changing the Miniſtry entirely, was ſo critical, that it was impoſſible for him to appoint any perſons but thoſe recommended not only by popular favour, but

but by the Republican faction. A Miniſter ſuſpected of Royaliſm would have been immediately devoted to the inſults and attacks of the populace, aſſailed with a multitude of denunciations, and in a ſhort time ſent to the priſons of the National Court. A Miniſter from the Conſtitutional party would have experienced the ſame fate, though not ſo rapidly; for that party was nearly as unpopular as that of the Royaliſts. The Republican faction ſtill ſhouted *Vive la Conſtitution!* to make the people believe that they were faithful to it. They quoted it, they mentioned it with warmth, but it was only the democratic regulations that were enforced; and the perfidious acclamations in its favour often ſignalized the moſt evident violations of it. The King therefore could chooſe the new Members of his Council only from the Club of the Jacobins, and among the moſt decided patriots. Such in fact was the advice which M. *Duport du Tertre*, M. *de Leſſart*, and M. *Cahier de Gerville* had given to his Majeſty, who reſolved to adopt it, in the hope that the Jacobin Club of Paris, engaged by all the intereſts of ambition, credit, and fortune, to preſerve Miniſters choſen from among themſelves,

themſelves, or the Clubs connected with them, would ſupport them in a preciſe execution of the Conſtitution, and compel the Aſſembly to ſubmit to it. In circumſtances ſo critical, every meaſure that could be thought of was attended with great danger; and in this there was perhaps more chance of ſucceſs than in any other: it failed however. Was it the King's fault, or is his fate to be charged with the failure? A judgment may be formed from the facts that follow.

We have already ſeen how *Dumourier* came into the Miniſtry. The firſt ſpeech he made to the Aſſembly after his appointment ſhews clearly how certain he was that it would be agreeable to them. "The "King," ſaid he, "in appointing me the "Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, means to "prove his attachment to the Conſtitution. "We are become the pledges of the public "confidence, of the harmony between the "conſtituted Powers, and of the union "which can alone provide the means for "averting or reſiſting the ſtorm. While "you are engaged in perfecting our laws, "diſſipating factions, eſtabliſhing order "throughout the kingdom, and reviving "confidence;

" confidence; while my colleagues each in
" his department are engaged in giving the
" neceſſary concentration and force to the
" execution of the laws, I ſhall be the or-
" gan of your energy with foreign Powers.
" Truth ſhall dictate all my diſpatches in
" the name of the King of the French.
" A free and powerful nation ſhould never
" have recourſe to cunning and falſehood.
" We enjoyed your confidence previous to
" our entry in the Miniſtry. The National
" Aſſembly, the King, and the Miniſters,
" ſhall in future be an indiviſible whole*."

If, with this ſelf-ſufficiency, rhodomontade, and Revolutionary jargon, *Dumourier* had been leſs feeble, leſs inconſiſtent, and poſſeſſed of a head leſs heated with the imaginary greatneſs of the new ſyſtems, he would have been equal to conceiving the noble and bold reſolution of attempting and riſking every thing to ſave the Monarchy and the Monarch; and few men united in

* *Dumourier* had before diſcloſed his principles and opinions on the Revolution in a Memorial which he had tranſmitted to the King about the end of the year 1791, and which is reported in the collection of papers found in the *iron preſs*, page 80, No. XXXII. See Appendix, No. XVII.

themſelves

themſelves the ſame degree he did of the audacity, energy, ſpirit, and reſources neceſſary to enſure its ſucceſs. The means he might have found in the fund of 1,500,000 livres, appropriated to the ſecret expences of his department, for that ſum was more than ſufficient to have excited in the Capital a commotion in favour of royalty, which well managed would have been deciſive. But could ſuch a plan be conceived or adopted by the ſame *Dumourier*, who having puſhed the enthuſiaſm of Revolution to madneſs, and appeared foremoſt among its moſt extravagant promoters*, was now become its Miniſter, and ſtill aſpired to be its hero? I will not ſay, for I have no reaſon to think, that at this period he was admitted into the plots for the abſolute overthrow of the throne, and the eſtabliſhment of a Republic; but his conduct has fully proved that his attachment to the Conſtitutional Monarchy was always ſubordinate to his anxiety

* Theſe expreſſions will be thought even too moderate by thoſe who knew *Dumourier*'s different Revolutionary farces, and by thoſe who ſaw him at Nantes, in the Commune, tear off his *croix de St. Louis*, tread it under foot, to prove how little he valued it, and hang it again next day to his button hole with a tri-color ribbon.

for

for the preſervation of his popularity and great reputation for patriotiſm.

The choice of *Rolland de la Platiere* for the Department of the Interior, and of *Claviere* for that of the Finances, was ſtill more fatal. The latter, who was an able calculator of the operations of commerce and finance, was a thoroughly wicked villain, and baſe too, for he was a coward and a knave. *Rolland* was originally a good man. Without talents or vices, the fanaticiſm of liberty and equality, which had turned his head, would have made him only a madman or a fool, if his wife, who was a violent Revolutioniſt, endowed with wit, ability, and energy, had not raiſed him above the croud of patriots, by decking him with all her faculties, and in a manner identifying herſelf with him. He thought only as ſhe thought; ſpoke and wrote only as ſhe dictated; and in a word ſhe covered his inſignificance with a varniſh of philoſophy and ſtoiciſm which deceived every body.

The King informed the Aſſembly of the appointment of theſe two Miniſters by the following letter:

"Deeply affected by the diſorders that "afflict France, and ſenſible of the duty

" enjoined me by the Conſtitution to attend
" to the maintenance of public tranquillity.
" I have conſtantly uſed all the means it has
" put in my power to enforce the execution
" of the laws. My firſt Miniſters I choſe
" *for the purity of their principles*; they
" have reſigned their places: I have thought
" it right to replace them by men *eſteemed*
" *for their popular ſentiments.* You had
" ſo often repeated to me that this ſtep was
" the only means of enſuring the re-eſta-
" bliſhment of order and the execution of
" the laws, that I reſolved to adopt it, that
" malice might no longer have a pretext to
" doubt the ſincerity of my deſire to pro-
" mote the proſperity and happineſs of my
" country. I have appointed M. *Claviere*
" Miniſter of the Finances, and M. *Rolland*
" Miniſter of the Interior. The perſon I
" had choſen for the Miniſter of * Juſtice
" has requeſted me to chooſe another. I
" will inform the National Aſſembly when
" I have made the choice."

The Aſſembly could not but applaud this letter and theſe appointments; but the King's

* M. *Garnier*, author of a work on the Feudal Tenures.

extreme

extreme condeſcenſion perplexed the Republican faction as much as it grieved the Royliſts. "If this devil of a man gives up "every point to us," ſaid the Jacobins in their Secret Committee, "what ſhall we "have to reproach him with? what reaſon "ſhall we be able to give for getting rid of "him?"

The firſt time the new Miniſters attended the Council, *Rolland* went dreſſed as he was at the Jacobin Club, that is, without buckles in his ſhoes, his hair in diſhabille, and out of powder. The porters at the Palace, ſtrictly attentive to their orders, refuſed at firſt to let a man of ſuch an appearance enter the King's apartments, and would not open the doors to him, till they had an expreſs order from his Majeſty, who thought proper to deſpiſe this inſolent ſingularity.

The reply of Prince *Kaunitz* to the explanations which M. *de Leſſart* had demanded in his laſt diſpatches, arrived at this time, and gave *Dumourier* an opportunity of evincing at his outſet in the Diplomatic career, that his talents, opinions, and language, were at par and congenial with the Revolution. Speaking of the anſwer from the Court of Vienna, he ſaid, "I beſeech

" the Aſſembly to reſtrain the juſt indigna-
" tion which the reading of this paper will
" raiſe in them. It concludes with calling
" on the ſound and principal part of the
" nation, that is to ſay, on the ariſtocracy,
" to act in concert with the foreign Powers.
" It delights me to foreſee that this concert
" will be deſtitute of harmony, and that
" France, united by the ties of patriotiſm,
" will triumph over all confederacies. I
" wiſh the Aſſembly to wait for the catego-
" rical anſwer which I have demanded of
" the Court of Vienna, in the name of the
" nation and of the King, before they
" come to any reſolution reſpecting this
" paper."

This ſpeech was followed by the reading of Prince *Kaunitz*' official note. It was this:

" There is no arming going on in the
" Empire that can be called preparations
" for war. It is nothing to be compared
" to that of France. His Majeſty the King
" of Hungary and Bohemia may think pro-
" per to extend it farther, in order to quell
" the diſturbances which the example of
" France and the ſecret practices of the
" Jacobin party foment in the Belgic Pro-
" vinces.

" vinces. Theſe precautions are reaſonable,
" and no one has a right to preſcribe the
" bounds of them to him. As to the con-
" federation eſtabliſhed between the court of
" Vienna, and ſeveral other powers; before
" it can ceaſe, France muſt remove the
" cauſes that gave riſe to it, ſhe muſt
" ſuppreſs the arts of the faction, who
" are at work to deſtroy the force of the
" laws by the means of inſurrections, and
" who are only aiming to reduce the
" liberty of the King, and the faith of trea-
" ties to empty words. But ſhould their
" deſigns ſucceed, his Majeſty flatters him-
" ſelf that the ſound and principal part of
" the French Nation, will look upon this
" confederation as a ſupport worthy of their
" confidence, and of a criſis the moſt im-
" portant that ever involved the intereſts of
" Europe. This is what the Chancellor of
" the State, is charged to communicate to
" the Ambaſſador of France.

" Signed, THE PRINCE OF KAUNITZ."

The Aſſembly, agreeably to *Dumourier*'s wiſh, entered into no reſolution on this anſwer, but immediately paſſed to the order of

the day after the reading of it, which had been interrupted more than once by loud burſts of laughter. It was ſurely no eaſy thing to accommodate the gravity and dignity of the *Neſtor* of all the cabinets of Europe, to theſe new modes of Revolutionary diplomacy.

The moſt remarkable effect produced by the appointment of the new Miniſtry, was the ſudden and extraordinary riſe of the public funds. In the courſe of one week, from the 15th to the 23d of March, the exchange with England roſe from $15\frac{1}{4}$ to 20. This apparent return of confidence and public credit furniſhed the factious with many arguments to juſtify their inveteracy againſt the late Miniſtry. The moſt moderate and impartial obſervers were at a loſs. The New Conſtitution had in fact always been conſidered as the only ſecurity for the aſſignats, and the greater or leſs probability of its duration, as the thermometer of their credit. Now it was certainly much leſs in danger under the former Miniſtry than after their retreat. They endeavoured at leaſt to enforce the execution of it, whereas their ſucceſſors belonged to a faction, whoſe plan it was well known tended to an abſolute aboli-

tion

tion of the Monarchy, and an eſtabliſhment of a popular government. It was to bring about this event more effectually and more rapidly, that they wiſhed for war, which might already have been conſidered as inevitable and at hand. The expences, the enormous impoveriſhment it muſt occaſion, the obſtacles that would be every where experienced in gathering the taxes, the troubles, the inſurrections and the anarchy which deſolated France, were no doubt ſerious cauſes of diſcredit; yet ſcarcely had the new Miniſters entered upon their offices, when the aſſignats got again into favour. It is true that this phenomenon was of no long duration; but it happened again ſome months after, at a moment ſtill more critical, I mean after the fatal 10th of Auguſt, and it has never been otherwiſe accounted for, than from the Pariſian Capitaliſts being in the ſtupid habit of ſeeing the moſt diſaſtrous occurrences of the Revolution in a favourable light.

In leſs than a fortnight after my reſignation, I laid before the Aſſembly an account of my adminiſtration, which was printed and diſtributed throughout the kingdom, and no

refutation of it was attempted*. On quitting the Miniſtry, however, I did not withdraw my ſervices, but continued, at the King's deſire, to keep up a correſpondence with him, and engaged in ſome plans for counteracting the influence of the Jacobin Faction†.

The ſeverity with which the Firſt Aſſembly had treated the National Guards, and Municipal Officers of ſome communities of the Departments of Lozere, Herault, and Ardeche, on account of their meetings at the camp of Jalis and the reſolutions they had there entered into, had ſmothered but not extinguiſhed the patriotiſm of royalty, which had made that partial confederacy ſo formidable to the factious. The new philoſophy had made but little way in the Gevaudan. Its mountains had not yet reached the height of the Revolution, and the good people who inhabited them, perſiſted in bleſſing God, in being faithful to the King, in honouring their ancient lords, and in loving and reſpecting their paſtors. With ſuch diſpoſitions, termed by

* This Statement is inſerted in the 21ſt Chapter of my Private Memoirs. Vol. II. p. 122.

† Of theſe I have already publiſhed an account, to which I refer the reader. See Private Memoirs, vol. II. p. 147 to p. 164.

the

the Jacobins *Ariſtocracy* and *Fanaticiſm*, it was difficult to remain unexaſperated at the outrages daily experienced by *Louis* XVI. and at the perſecutions ſuffered by the non-juring prieſts: accordingly this feeling was ſeen breaking forth with more or leſs energy in ſeveral departments, and particularly in Lozere. At the town of Mende, ſcarce a National cockade had been ſeen ſince the month of February, and ſome white ones had appeared without cauſing any inſult to thoſe who wore them. The Directory of the Department thought proper to have recourſe to military power, to compel them to reſpect the Conſtitution: this the Municipality formally oppoſed by a reſolution, and ſolicited the interference of the neighbouring Municipality to ſecond their oppoſition to the marching of any troops into the town. Being informed that three companies of the Lyonnois regiment were to be ſent, the Municipality immediately formed a new National Guard, the officers of which were choſen from among the gentlemen of the country, and obtained from the *Procureur Syndic* of the department, what arms and ammunition they wanted.

The day on which the detachment of the Lyonnois

Lyonnois regiment marched into Mende, the National Guard appeared under arms to receive them, and anſwered their cries of *Vive la Nation*, with ſhouts of *Vive le Roi*. They then marched into the chief ſquare of the town, and there took an oath to obey only the King, and to acknowledge him alone. Next day, in the afternoon, five or ſix Grenadiers walking the ſtreets ſinging patriotic ſongs, were inſulted wherever they paſſed, and were attacked by ſeveral of the National Guard, who wounded four of them, one of whom four days after died of his wounds. This affair was followed by a general riſing: the ſoldiers, every where purſued, flew to arms, and were preparing to defend themſelves, when their commanding officer was called upon by the *Procureur Syndic* of the department, to order them to their quarters, to which they immediately repaired. However, at two o'clock in the morning, the officers of the National Guard called on the department to deſire that they would ſend away the troops of the line in the morning. The Municipality joined them, and declared that it was on that condition only they had been able to reſtrain the National Guard, who were at that very time drawn up

up in the public ſquare, and were bent on going to attack the regiment, in company with 120 men armed with muſkets, hatchets, and ſcythes, juſt arrived from the neighbouring communes headed by their Municipal officers. Fortunately the three companies of the Lyonnois regiment were out of the town before this little army began to move, and the reſt of the day was ſpent in making the inhabitants of the different communes, who had come to the aſſiſtance of the town welcome, and in carrying them about in triumph. The Club-room of the Jacobins, and the houſes of ſome of them were ſtripped of every thing and deſtroyed. Ten of the moſt violent of them were even carried to priſon.

The Aſſembly, when all theſe facts were denounced to them, conſidered them as ſo many counter-revolutionary attempts, of which it was of the greateſt importance to make a ſignal example, and they accordingly decreed that the principal officers of the National Guard of Mende, the Biſhop, and the Mayor, ſhould be impeached before the Supreme Court, although the Committee had found that the Mayor was not more to blame than the Directory of the Department, who, like

like him, had been forced to obey the bayonets; and although the Biſhop (M. *de Caſtellane)* was accuſed in ſuch vague terms, that the Reporter declared expreſſly, that the Committee had not found any preciſe fact ſtated againſt him*. Another decree, paſſed in the ſame Sitting March the 28th, ordained the diſſolution of the National Guard of Mende, and the ſuſpenſion of the Members of the Municipal Body, who had ſigned the reſolutions relative to the Lyonnois regiment, and directed that they ſhould be denounced to the Public Accuſer, in order to be proſecuted before the Criminal Court, which was proviſionally transferred to Marnejols, as was alſo the Directory of the Department. The Executive Power was at the ſame time charged to ſend a ſufficient force into the department of Lozere to reſtore the public peace, and maintain the reſpect due to the laws.

In the end of the month of March ſeditious commotions of a much more alarming nature, were upon the point of breaking out

* It was eſtabliſhed as a principle by ſeveral ſpeakers, that ſimple ſuſpicions were grounds enough for a decree of impeachment, and that proofs were only neceſſary on a final trial for the crime.

in

in Paris, on account of the bankruptcy of the *Houſe of Succour* *. The apparent object of this eſtabliſhment, which was formed ſome months before with the authority of the Municipality, by an artful ſpeculator named *Guillaume*, was the advantage of the moſt indigent claſs of the people, and was to obviate all the inconveniences ariſing from the ſcarcity of caſh, by putting into circulation a ſufficient quantity of bills of 10 ſols, 15 ſols and upwards, which the Houſe of Succour was to give and take publicly in exchange for aſſignats of every value. The great conveniency of theſe bills, the eaſe with which they might be ſupported, and the great intereſt the houſe had in maintaining the credit of them, obtained them ſo general a confidence, that they ſoon became the only currency uſed by the people, not only in the markets of the Capital, but for twenty or thirty leagues round. In a little time the emiſſion amounted to ſeveral millions. The ſharers in the Houſe of Succour, not ſatisfied with the profits ariſing, without any riſk, from the intereſt of theſe conſiderable capitals, ventured them, as im-

* *La Maiſon de Secours.*

prudently

prudently as diſhoneſtly, in a multitude of commercial ſpeculations, which obliged them to make an immenſe augmentation of clerks, agents, correſpondents, &c. However, the ignorance of ſome, the treachery and knavery of others, and the default of all inſpection on the part of the Municipality, concurred in ruining this eſtabliſhment, and its fall was as rapid as its riſe.

On the firſt rumour which tranſpired in the Capital of the failure of the Bank of the Houſe of Succour, the uneaſineſs, agitation, and murmurings of the people, aſſumed ſo menacing an appearance, that the Municipality haſtened to ſend to it all the diſpoſable funds in the cheſts of the commune, which being ſcarcely ſufficient to meet the preſſure of the moment, they immediately applied to the Aſſembly, who, partaking the alarm, decreed, with precipitation, that the Extraordinary Bank (*Caiſſe de l'extraordinare*) ſhould furniſh the Miniſter of the Interior with the ſum of three millions by way of loan, which he ſhould pay over to the Directory of the Department upon their making a legal demand of it, in order to be delivered to the Municipality of Paris by way

way of loan, and on condition of being repaid.

As this decree was not accompanied with a decree of urgency, it was neceſſary, according to the Conſtitution, that it ſhould paſs three different readings, with an interval of eight days between each, before it could be preſented for the ſanction. The Directory of the Department, the Municipality, and the Miniſter of the Interior, went on the ſame day to the Evening Sitting, and painted forcibly to the Aſſembly the critical ſituation of the Capital, and the imminent danger that would attend the leaſt delay in the advance of the three millions which had been granted to the Municipality, as without it it would be impoſſible to prevent an immediate and general inſurrection, of which there was no ſaying what the conſequences might be.

On this a ſerious debate enſued, the negligence of the Department and of the Municipality was generally cenſured with the ſeverity it deſerved: the Miniſter himſelf, (*Rolland*) in ſpite of *the purity of his patriotiſm*, had to undergo the moſt bitter invectives for attempting to influence the Aſſembly with a fear of ſome inſurrection of the

the people: "As if the people of Paris," it was ſaid, "were ſo unjuſt, ſo ignorant, "as to be angry with the National Aſſem-"bly for faults committed by the Depart-"ment and Municpality, faults, of which "the whole weight of reſponſibility would "fall on thoſe bodies, and perhaps on the "Miniſter himſelf." The Sitting was ſo tumultuous, that the Preſident, not being able to make himſelf heard, was obliged more than once to put on his hat to reſtore order. It ended, however, with a decree, ordering that the Extraordinary Bank ſhould, in the courſe of the day, make over 500,000 livres to the Department, to be immediately at the command of the Municipality, as ſo much on account of the three millions which had been granted them by way of loan*.

The troubles and ſeditious commotions which were perpetually occurring in the heart of the kingdom, were but faint images of the ſcenes of horror exhibited in our

* In the end of the month of March 1792, the bills iſſued by the Houſe of Succour amounted to twenty-three millions. *See the Moniteur of the 8th of April* 1792.

colonies.

colonies. On the ruins, on the aſhes of the habitations of the planters, deſtroyed, burnt, and ſmoking with the blood of the proprietors inhumanly murdered, the negroes and mulattoes in rebellion were founding the Empire of Liberty, and daily rendering themſelves more odious by new crimes. From the tardineſs of the Aſſembly in their determinations on this urgent buſineſs, the ſuccours demanded were delayed ſo long, that, when they arrived, they were always inadequate on account of the daily progreſs of the rebellion. Beſides, it was not the means of putting a temporary ſtop to thoſe calamities that the Aſſembly ſhould have attended to, they ſhould have found and deſtroyed the ſource of them, to prevent their being ever again repeated. That ſource exiſted entirely in the imaginary philanthropy and fatal innovations which had introduced the equality and liberty of the ſavage ſtate in thoſe torrid climates, which Nature ſeemed to have doomed to perpetual ſterility, and which owed their civilization and immenſe fertility to the ſyſtem which the new laws had aboliſhed. This ſalutary ſyſtem, therefore, they ought to have re-eſtabliſhed, making

ſuch prudent reforms as were dictated by reaſon and humanity. Inſtead of which, the Aſſembly affected to impute the troubles in the colonies to the not executing the laws which had raiſed the people of colour and free negroes to a footing of equality in political rights. In the oppoſition given to thoſe laws they ſaw, or pretended to ſee, *the effects of a heinous plot which appeared connected with the conſpiracies formed againſt the French nation, and which was to break out at once in both hemiſpheres**. This fine pretence was uſed for the preamble to the decree which they paſſed at this time, and by which they declared that the people of colour and free negroes were to enjoy the equality of political rights as fully as the white planters; that they ſhould be eligible to all the offices, and admitted to vote in all the Primary and Electoral Aſſemblies. At the ſame time it was ordered, that immediately after the promulgation of this decree, there ſhould be a new election of all the Colonial Aſſemblies and Municipalities according to the forms preſcribed by the new laws, and that thoſe Aſſemblies, as ſoon as

* See the decree of the 24th of March.

they

they had met, ſhould form a Conſtitution, Legiſlature, and Adminiſtration of their own, adapted to the proſperity and happineſs of the inhabitants, on condition of conforming to the general principles contained in the decrees and inſtructions of the Firſt Aſſembly. The Legiſlative Body need not have added this condition to their decree, for, it was but too probable, that thoſe Colonial determinations, for the moſt part entered into amidſt flames and poniards, would far leſs expreſs the ſincere and free opinion of the planters than that of the negroes and mulattoes, and, conſequently, that the Revolutionary principles would ſuffer no injury.

The month of March was alſo the period when the Aſſembly ſuppreſſed the uſe of the gallows in executions, and in its place ſubſtituted, under the name of *guillotine**, that fatal inſtrument of deſtruction, which,

* From the name of Dr. *Guillotin*, a phyſician, who had propoſed the introduction of it to the Firſt Aſſembly, of which he was a Member. It was not adopted, however, till the 20th of March 1792, and then by a decree paſſed on an anatomical conſultation of the Academy of Surgery.

from its horrible activity, has become the ever execrable emblem of a Revolution the moſt criminal and ſanguinary the ſun ever ſhone upon.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XIII.

The Empire of Jacobiniſm completely conſolidated—The Confederacy of the Sovereigns of Europe againſt it—The Part taken by Guſtavus II. of Sweden—His Aſſaſſination—The Jacobins erroneouſly ſuſpected of having inſtigated it—The Mutineers of the Regiment of Chateauvieux releaſed, and a Feſtival in Honour of them propoſed—Debates in the Aſſembly reſpecting them—They are admitted to the Bar, and granted the Honours of the Sitting — A Deputation from the Fauxbourg St. Antoine—Speech of Laureau interrupted by the Aſſembly—Diſ-

organization of the Government—Denunciations againſt M. de Narbonne and Cahier de Gerville—The People in the Galleries of the Aſſembly called to Order —Denunciations againſt M. Duport du Tertre—His Defence—Change in the Diplomatic Syſtem—M. de Noailles' Dilemma on the Occaſion, and Reſignation —He is accuſed of Treaſon—Letter from the King to the Emperor read by Dumourier—Decree of Impeachment voted againſt M. de Noailles—Reſolution paſſed by the Municipality relative to the Feaſt to be given to the Soldiers of Chateauvieux—Peaceable Iſſue of the Feaſt.

THE Jacobins, who now compoſed the majority of the Legiſlative Body, of the Directories of the Departments, of the Diſtricts, of the Municipalities, and of the Courts of Juſtice, wanted no more than to acquire the ſame influence in the King's Council to concentrate altogether in their own hands the Legiſlative, Executive, Judiciary, and Adminiſtrative Powers, the public and the popular force, the diſpoſal of the revenue of

of the State, and the appointment of all the offices. The late change of the Miniſtry completed this full union of all the means of ruling, and conſolidated the Empire of Jacobiniſm. This monſtrous power, thrown by the Revolution into the hands of the refuſe of every claſs of Society, openly aimed at eſtabliſhing its ſupremacy on the ruins of all thrones and altars, and by the plunder of all property, and of courſe threatened all governments and all nations. The Sovereigns of Europe, juſtly alarmed at this plan for the general ſubverſion of ſocial order, confederated to ſecure their States againſt ſo imminent a danger, and all prepared for a war, which was already conſidered as inevitable.

In this auguſt coalition of crowned heads, the command of one of the principal armies was, by the public voice, anticipated for the King of Sweden. His bravery, his conſtancy, his energy, and the warmth with which he felt for the ſituation of *Louis* XVI. and his Queen, to whom he was ſincerely attached, were not the only titles he had to the confidence of the Royaliſts; with theſe noble feelings, *Guſtavus* II. poſſeſſed talents which had been already evinced

in the very cauſe of Royalty, the triumph of which he effected and confirmed in his own dominions over the anarchy which had been introduced into them in 1680. He had now devoted himſelf with the ſame zeal to the reſtoration of the French Monarchy, and the deſtruction of Jacobiniſm: he was meditating the plans of this noble enterpriſe, and was concerting them with the moſt diſtinguiſhed officers among the Emigrants*, when his days were cut ſhort by a horrible act of villany. He was aſſaſſinated on the 16th of March at a maſquerade, by a perſon named *Ankaarſtrom*, who had formerly been an enſign in the guards. This man had been ſentenced to death by a Court Martial for having prevented the peaſants of Gothland from agreeing to raiſe a volunteer corps during the war with Ruſſia; but the King had pardoned him and ſeveral noblemen, who had been engaged in ſimilar affairs. The monſter provided himſelf with two piſtols and a large kitchen knife ſharpened on both ſides. In his examination he declared that the knife was intended for *finiſhing the King*, and that with

* See the Memoirs of M. *de Bouillé*.

the

the ſecond piſtol he meant to kill himſelf as ſoon as he had diſpatched his victim. He perſiſted to the laſt in denying that he had any accomplices, proteſting that he alone was guilty. This falſhood was the more evident, from the King's having received, a quarter of an hour before he was aſſaſſinated, an anonymous note written with a pencil, brought by an unknown perſon, and conceived in theſe terms: "For heaven's ſake, "Sire, deign to attend to the advice of a "man who is not in your ſervice, nor look-"ing for your favours, nor meaning to flatter "your faults, but who is anxious to avert "the danger which threatens your life. "Be aſſured that there is a plot for aſſaſſi-"nating you: the conſpirators were in "deſpair at its failing laſt week when the "ball was put off, and are bent on attempt-"ing it to-day. Stay at home; and even "avoid all the ſucceeding balls for a year to "come at leaſt. Allow a criminal fanataciſm "to evaporate: avoid alſo the ground floor "of Haga; in a word, you cannot be too "cautious for the next month. Do not "take the trouble to endeavour to diſcover "the author of this letter. The plot that "threatens your life has come to his know-

"ledge

" ledge by accident. Be aſſured that he " has no intereſt in averting the blow deſ- " tined for you. Had your hireling troops " at Golfe proceeded to violence againſt the " citizens, the author of this letter would " have fought againſt you ſword in hand, " but he deteſts aſſaſſination*."

The King, who had ſeveral times received ſimilar intelligence, which had never been verified, unfortunately paid no more attention to this than he had to the others, and fell a victim to his extreme confidence in his fortune. He died on the tenth day after he was wounded. This crime was ſo conformable to the wiſhes and the principles of the Jacobins, that it was not doubted that it had been committed by their agents, or at their inſtigation. But the aſſaſſin's trial proved, *to their great regret*, that they had had no part in it. I ſay *to their great regret*, for the audacity and delirium of thoſe villains had even then attained ſuch a height, that they no longer ſpoke of Kings but by the odious term of *tyrants*; and

* The next day this letter was diſcovered to have been written by Count *Lilien Horn*, the Major or Lieut. Colonel of the regiment of Guards.

they

they conſidered their death as fortunate for humanity, and their aſſaſſination as a brilliant act of the pureſt patriotiſm. They could not boaſt of having participated perſonally in that of the King of Sweden, but they aſcribed the honour of it to their doctrine. The regicide *Ankaarſtrom* became their hero; their tribune echoed more than once with his praiſes; and all their writers proclaimed his glory in their Journals and pamphlets. Hiſtory, more juſt, will ſet all theſe crimes in their true light; will ſpeak of the aſſaſſination of the King of Sweden as an execrable crime, and of his death as a great misfortune, not only to France, but all Europe. His military talents were certainly not to be compared with thoſe of the juſtly celebrated General who ſucceeded him in the command of the army; but *Guſtavus* II., more impetuous than the Duke of *Brunſwick*, and not conſtrained to attend to the views and private motives of different Cabinets, would never have approved, would never have commanded the fatal retreat of 1792. Inſtead of the Auſtrian and Pruſſian armies, he would have entered France at the head of 12,000 Swedes and all the Emigrants. This army, reinforced as it proceeded

ceeded by all the malcontents and Royaliſts remaining in the country, would have eaſily overcome, or perhaps even drawn over that of *Dumourier*, and marched without any obſtacle to Paris, where it would have delivered the King, deſtroyed the Clubs, reſtored the Monarchy, and ſaved France from the horrible calamities of which it has been ſo long the theatre.

The furious apologiſts of regicide were conſiſtent only in laviſhing their praiſes and the moſt extravagant honours on acts of diſobedience to the feeble remains of authority which the New Conſtitution had left the King, and even on acts of rebellion. Accordingly, the Jacobins were ſeen to take under their ſpecial protection the forty ſoldiers of the regiment of *Chateauvieux* who had been moſt active in the inſurrection of the garriſon of Nancy, and the bloody ſcenes which had been the conſequence of it. They entitled them victims of deſpotiſm, martyrs in the cauſe of the people, and regarded their revolt as an act of patriotic heroiſm. They obtained decrees from the Aſſembly enacting, that thoſe rebellious ſoldiers, on whom ſentence had been paſſed by their own officers according to the military

laws

laws of their country, and our ſtipulations with Switzerland, ſhould be included in the amneſty, and releaſed from the perpetual galleys, to which they had been condemned. It was reſolved that, on leaving Breſt, they ſhould repair to Paris, and that their arrival there ſhould be celebrated by a civic feaſt, the expences of which ſhould be defrayed by the patriots of the Capital. The Municipality were invited to it three weeks beforehand by a petition ſigned by ſome flaming patriots, ſuch as *Maria Joſeph Chenier*, the painter *David*, and the famous theoriſt *De Mericour*, calling themſelves *the organs of many citizens*. "A fraternal bounty," ſaid they, "and eminent men ſhall pay the ſoldiers of Chateauvieux the debt *contracted by the country*. Thus ſhall the efforts of Civiſm be ever encouraged. This affecting feaſt ſhall every where be the conſternation of tyrants, and the hope and conſolation of patriots. Thus ſhall we prove to Europe, that the people are not ungrateful like deſpots, and that a nation become free knows how to reward the ſupporters of liberty, as they know how to ſtrike conſpirators upon the very ſteps of the throne.

The tone of this invitation, and the general

ral applauſe it received in the Council-General of the Commune, were enough to give a juſt idea of the temper of mind prevailing at that period, and of the enthuſiaſm, as alarming as it was ſenſeleſs, with which the moſt extravagant popular flights were adopted in the Capital even by the Conſtituted Authorities; for the Council General were not ſatisfied with receiving the petition in queſtion, but ordered it to be printed, and ſent round to the Forty-eight Sections. (*Reſolution of the 24th of March.*)

The ſame invitation was ſent a few days after in a circular letter, ſigned by ſome patriots, to all the Members of the Aſſembly, the Directory of the Department, the Committees of the Forty-eight Sections, the Judges of the Courts Civil and Military, the Communes in the neighbourhood of Paris, all the corps of Citizen Soldiers, and Soldier Citizens, that is to ſay, the Troops of the Line, and the battalions of National Guards, and to all the public ſchools. The Juſtices of the Peace were appointed to receive the voluntary contributions by which the ſum for the expences of this feaſt was to be raiſed.

The ſoldiers of Chateauvieux, on their arrival

arrival at Paris (April 9th), went to the Aſſembly, and requeſted admiſſion to the bar, in order to expreſs their gratitude to the Legiſlative Body. This requeſt was received with the loudeſt applauſe; but not ſo the obſervation made by one of the Members of the Aſſembly (M. *de Jaucourt*), on the ill conſequences of granting the honours of the Sitting to theſe forty galley-ſlaves.— "The intereſt raiſed by the ſight of them," ſaid he, "ſhould not make us forget the "ſpirit of the decree which ſet them at "liberty: an amneſty is neither a triumph "nor a civic crown. I am willing to be- "lieve that the ſoldiers of Chateauvieux "were miſled, but the National Guards "and the ſoldiers of the Line, with whom "they fought at the gates of Nancy, laid "down their lives in defence of the law; "it was thoſe only who died for their "country; and, after honouring them "with a public mourning, worn by all the "French National Guards, can you, the "year after, decree honours to the very "perſons beneath whoſe blows fell ſo "many unfortunate victims of the moſt "glorious ardour? You would not thus "diſhonour the name of *Deſilles*, and

thoſe

" thoſe of the citizen ſoldiers who ſa-
" crificed themſelves to the law, rend the
" hearts of all who took a part in the affair
" of Nancy, and inſult the Swiſs nation at
" the moment of renewing the treaty with
" them! Conſider that your determination
" may make a great impreſſion on the army.
" The beſtowing of honours on the ſoldiers
" of Chateauvieux, will give an idea that
" you regard them, not as men who have
" been too ſeverely puniſhed, but as inno-
" cent victims *. Be aſſured that the army
" will look on ſuch conduct as an encou-
" ragement to diſobedience; and take care,
" that whenever they are commanded to
" execute any rigorous orders, they do not
" think they have acquired the right of re-
" fuſing to comply, under a pretence of
" every ſevere order being unjuſt."

The Members of the *Coté-droit* applauded theſe obſervations, but the majority of the Aſſembly and the galleries interrupted them ſeveral times violently by murmurs, hootings, and cries of *down, down.* Theſe inſults were renewed with the moſt ſhocking

* " Yes, yes," was heard in ſeveral parts of the Hall.

brutality,

brutality, when another Deputy (*Gouvion*) repreſented that it would be impoſſible for him to ſit patiently and ſee honours beſtowed on the aſſaſſins of his brother, who had received five muſket balls under the walls of Nancy, whither he had marched in ſupport of the law. "Very well," cried ſome voices; "go out, Sir, go out:" to which the galleries added ſhouts of *down, down.* After much debating, mixed with groſs abuſe, menaces, and clamour, the motion for admitting the ſoldiers of Chateauvieux to the Bar having been unanimouſly adopted, that for granting them the honours of the Sitting was put to the vote, and the Secretaries declared it had the majority: this was denied by many of the Members, who demanded a call of the votes. After an agitation and tumult for more than a quarter of an hour, the call was made, and the majority for the affirmative confirmed, there being 288 votes againſt 265. This triumph was attended with great clapping, and repeated ſhouts of *bravo!*

The ſpeaker of theſe ſoldiers was introduced by *Collet d'Herbois,* an indifferent provincial player. Every ſentence of the ſoldier's ſpeech was warmly applauded, and

the Aſſembly ordered it to be printed. As ſoon as theſe *heroes of the amneſty* were admitted to the honours of the Sitting, the detachment of the National Guard that had accompanied them filed off in the Hall to the beating of the drum and the ſhouts of *Vive la Nation!* They were followed by a long train of men and women armed with pikes. The Repreſentatives of the popular Clubs of Paris and Verſailles brought up the rear, carrying the colours given to theſe ſoldiers by the different Departments through which they had paſſed.

To complete this ſcandalous ſcene, a deputation from the workmen of the Faux-bourg St. Antoine preſented themſelves at the Bar, and ſaid that they were charged by the conquerors of the Baſtille, the men of the 14th of July, to inform the Aſſembly that they had given directions for making ten thouſand pikes more, according to the pattern in the ſpeaker's hand, on which was a red cap. "They ſhall always be made," ſaid he, "to ſupport liberty and the Conſti-"tution, and to defend you. We had not "time to bring you ſignatures, but we beg "you to fix a day for receiving them. We "could tell you much more about it, for

"we

" we are never dumb when the buſineſs is " to ſpeak our ſentiments and love of li- " berty, but we have already made ourſelves " hoarſe with crying, *Liberty, the Conſtitu-* " *tion, and the National Aſſembly.*" The burleſque eloquence of this harangue excited the greateſt rapture, and the Sitting concluded with the applauſe beſtowed upon it. The indecency of theſe proceedings was expoſed with great energy by the Deputy *Laureau* at the opening of the following Sitting, on a formal notice being given of the feaſt preparing for the ſoldiers of Chateauvieux. " It is with pain," ſaid he, " that I remember you yeſterday granted " the honours of the Sitting to the ſoldiers " of Chateauvieux. To-day I call your " attention to a letter from the Mayor of " Paris, and a printed bill, announcing " that they are to have a triumphal feaſt. " Public feſtivals and public opinion, which " they direct, concern the nation peculiarly; " and by what right do citizens uncom- " miſſioned, raſh commanders of an incon- " ſiderate ceremony, preſume to beſtow tri- " umphs on rebellion, and by honouring " crimes inſult virtue? How painful muſt " be the view of this overthrow of princi-

" ple to our Departments! What a diſgrace
" to the nation! Colours of liberty, ſol-
" diers of the country . . . . ." At theſe words the Deputy was interrupted by loud murmurs, and the Aſſembly paſſed abruptly to the order of the day, without ſuffering him to finiſh his ſpeech. It was of the greater conſequence to them not to ſuffer his intended motion to be ſubmitted to a regular deciſion, as they could neither adopt nor reject it without creating enemies: in the former caſe they would turn the Jacobins, the Municipality, and the populace againſt them; and in the latter, the different Royaliſt parties, a great number of the National Guards, and the Directory of the Department. Such was, in fact, the evident diviſion which then exiſted in the Capital, on account of the feaſt preparing for the ſoldiers of Chateauvieux. Diſturbances, fermentation, and diſorder, increaſing daily, ſeemed to indicate a general exploſion to be at hand. It would have been inevitable, and would probably have decided the fate of the Jacobins, had the oppoſite parties poſſeſſed their unanimity and energy: but this circumſtance preſented another example of the advantage which had ever been held by a factious

factious and guilty minority over a majority of honeſt men, always weakened by their irreſolution, their diſagreement, and the ſcruples of their integrity.

At this period a diſorganization of the Government was viſible throughout France: the Provinces were on fire, nineteen Departments were in open rebellion, which was on the point of breaking out in all the reſt. Honeſt and peaceable people of every claſs, alarmed at ſuch ſerious dangers, made their complaints to the Aſſembly, but in vain; the Aſſembly always referred them to the Courts of Juſtice, and coolly paſſed to the order of the day. On one of theſe occaſions, the Deputy whom I have juſt mentioned (*Laureau*) addreſſed the Aſſembly as follows: "What! Gentlemen, are you "really ſerious in making this reference, "and is it not deriſion to ſay that it belongs "to the Courts to puniſh? Can it be ima- "gined that in ſuch towns the Courts will "puniſh the National Guards, or the friends "of the Conſtitution? Where is their "power to puniſh? I cannot reflect on this "ſituation of things but with pain: its "only liberty is that of robbery. We have "neither taxes, order, nor authority; and

"we ſhall ſoon find ourſelves among fields "laid waſte, and houſes burnt down; for "they who ought to execute the laws of "the Empire, are deficient in virtue or in "firmneſs. As for me, I am reſolved that "my mind ſhall not reproach me with the "ruin of my country; and I move, as the "only remedy for this evil, that it ſhall be "lawful for the National Guards to go "from one Department to another, on "being ſimply called for, only in caſes of "rebellion; and that the Municipalities "and Communes be declared reſponſible "for the loſſes occaſioned by the plundering "and exceſſes of their inhabitants."

Theſe propoſitions were adjourned indefinitely, and the firſt Sittings of the month of April were chiefly employed in diſcuſſing new denunciations againſt M. *de Narbonne*, and even againſt M. *Cahier de Gerville*. The latter was accuſed of having falſely advanced, in the general account which he had given of the ſituation of the kingdom, that the citizens and Municipality of —— requeſted and even inſiſted upon the re-eſtabliſhment of their former prieſt. For this pretended miſtake, it was ſuppoſed that he might have committed many others, and a decree

a decree was therefore paſſed, which was greatly applauded by the galleries, requiring him to produce the original papers, on the faith of which he reported this fact.

The denunciation made by *Dubois de Crancé* againſt M. *de Narbonne*, and vouched by the Municipality of Perpignan, the Directory of the Department, and the Prince of *Heſſe*, General of Diviſion, was of a much more ſerious nature: it accuſed that Miniſter with having left the Southern Departments, and particularly the frontier on the Pyrenées, abſolutely deſtitute of the means of defence. The Aſſembly had ſcarcely heard this denunciation, when ſeveral Members roſe and demanded that M. *de Narbonne* ſhould be immediately brought to the Bar. A decree of impeachment was alſo moved and ſupported by arguments on the inutility of any farther examination, when a crime had once been proved by papers. "Had you conſented to hear M. *de* "*Leſſart*," ſaid the mover, "he would "have given you long explanations and "ſpecious ſubterfuges, which perhaps would "have prevented you from decreeing his "impeachment," The author of this atrocious reflection was not once called to

order! A motion for communicating to M. *de Narbonne* the papers on which he was denounced was received with murmurs, while one for keeping him in ſight, to prevent his eſcaping, was applauded by the galleries. They were both, however, rejected by the Aſſembly; nor was a decree of impeachment paſſed, but the denunciation was referred to the Military Committee and the Committee of Inſpection, with directions to make a report upon it in two days. This interval gave M. *de Narbonne* time to prepare his defence, and diſpoſe the majority of the Aſſembly to do him juſtice. It was not difficult for him to prove the ignorance or knavery of his denouncers. He appeared at the Bar of the Aſſembly immediately after the report of the Committees, by which he had been fully exculpated. So complete was his juſtification on every point, that the cabal, ſtill bent on proſecuting him, was under the neceſſity of confining themſelves to a motion for adjourning the debate on the report of the Committees. This motion was ſupported with ſo much violence by the ſhouts and clapping of the galleries, that the Aſſembly themſelves dared to be offended with this indecency, and

ſeveral

ſeveral motions were made againſt the galleries; ſome that the perſons attending there ſhould withdraw, others that they ſhould be called to order. They combated by their clamours and the moſt inſolent threats this pretended violation of the ſovereignty of the people. After more than an hour of tumult and noiſe, which the Preſident ſtrove in vain to put an end to by putting on his hat, the Aſſembly called the citizens of the galleries to order, and declared that there was no grounds for impeaching M. *de Narbonne**.

The Anti-miniſterial faction finding themſelves thus robbed of M. *de Narbonne*, became only the more violent in their proſecutions of M. *Duport du Tertre*, who was attacked by a much greater number of denunciations. Theſe had been referred for examination to the Committee of Legiſlation, which was almoſt entirely compoſed of the moſt headſtrong Members of the Jacobin Club; that is to ſay, Revolutionary fanatics, perpetually anxious to find out delinquents, and to paſs decrees of impeach-

* "This is putting a *Veto* on public opinion," bellowed one of the moſt ſtupid demoniacs of the Club of Jacobins; *Bazire*.

ment,

ment. The report drawn up by this Committee againſt M. *Duport du Tertre* was dictated by this wicked diſpoſition: and the extract I ſhall give being very accurate, though much abridged, will ſuffice to prove to what a degree, reaſon, truth, and all ideas of juſtice were ſlighted and rejected by the factious, when the queſtion reſpected the reſponſibility of the Miniſters; it was in ſubſtance as follows:

The Reporter of the Committee, *Saladin*, in ſtating the different charges ſtanding againſt the Keeper of the Seals, preſented the following crimes and miſdemeanours, as ſufficiently eſtabliſhed to ground a decree of impeachment againſt the Miniſter.

" 1ſt, The Miniſter of Juſtice is guilty of " a violation of the Law, of uſurpation of " the Legiſlative Power, and of an infringe- " ment of the Conſtitution, in counterſign- " ing a Proclamation of the King, dated " January the 5th, 1792, which gives to " the Judicial Courts of the Diſtrict, the no- " mination of the three Judges to form the " Criminal Court of each Department, al- " though the inſtructions relative to Juries " decreed by the Conſtituent Aſſembly, had

" aſſigned

" aſſigned the nomination to the Directories
" of the Departments.

" 2dly, He is guilty of colluſion in giving
" notarial patents at St. Denis, ſince the
" promulgation of the Conſtitutional Act,
" by which the ſale and inheritance of of-
" fices are ſuppreſſed. It is true that by
" the law of the 16th of November, 1789, it
" is provided that until the old officers of
" Juſtice and Seignorial Notaries ſhall be
" ſuperſeded, commiſſions may be granted
" proviſionally, and in caſes of certified
" neceſſity, to fill up the places vacant by
" death or reſignation. The letters of the
" *Procureur Syndic* of the Department of
" Paris, certify only the intereſt he took in
" the perſon in whoſe favour this place of
" Notary at St. Denis was created, but no-
" thing of the neceſſity for creating it.

" 3dly, M. *Duport du Tertre* has viola-
" ted the Conſtitution, and ſubſtituted his
" will in place of the law, and of Judicial
" ſentences, in granting letters of licence to
" debtors, on pretence of being authorized
" by the ordinances of 1669, and 1673,
" and by the declaration of 1689, which
" had not been formally repealed, as if the
" execution of them could be reconciled

" with

" with the Conſtitutional Law, which de-
" clares that there no longer exiſts in France,
" in favour of any perſon, a diſtinction of
" rights common to all Frenchmen.

" 4thly, He has exalted himſelf above
" the law, or at leaſt rendered the applica-
" tion of it arbitrary, in granting pardons
" before and ſince the promulgation of the
" Conſtitution, and conſequently exerciſing
" a right which belongs excluſively to the
" ſovereign people, and which had been
" heretofore uſurped by the King.

" 5thly, He had encroached on perſonal
" liberty, in not carrying the Act of Am-
" neſty into execution, and in deferring for
" two months the enlargement of a perſon
" condemned to the galleys, for trading in
" ſalt without a licence.

" 6thly, The King's letter in anſwer to
" the obſervation of the National Aſſembly,
" relative to the conduct of M. *Bertrand*,
" contains an evident falſhood, of which
" the object is to vilify the firſt of the Con-
" ſtituted Authorities, by making the As-
" ſembly inconſiſtent. The Miniſter of
" Juſtice in counterſigning this letter is
" guilty of that falſehood, and of attempting
" to vilify the Conſtituted Powers."

There

There would not have been the ſlighteſt grounds for theſe charges, if the Reporter had faithfully ſtated what M. *Duport du Tertre* had ſaid in his juſtification at the Sitting of the 13th of March; if on the firſt charge he had had the candour to make known that the inſtruction relative to Juries, conſiſting of 78 pages, had been decreed, not as a law, but ſimply as inſtructions; that from the many contradictions which exiſted between thoſe inſtructions and the law itſelf, it was not poſſible to execute the one without violating the other; that the author of theſe inſtructions, (M. *Paſtoret*), being conſulted on the Proclamation of January the 5th, 1792, thought it might be compatible with the inſtructions relative to Juries, but that M. *Duport du Tertre* had notwithſtanding, in his correſpondence with the courts of the Diſtricts, given notice that he ſhould ſubmit the queſtion to the Legiſlative Body, and requeſted them to ſettle this petty difficulty themſelves, in concert with the Adminiſtrators of the Department, leaving them at liberty to conform literally to theſe inſtructions.

On the ſecond charge, the Reporter, inſtead of falſely accuſing M. *Duport du Tertre*,

tre with having created a Notarial Office at St. Denis, ſhould have ſaid that the edict of 1664 had eſtabliſhed two notaries there; that it belonged to the Executive Power to decide whether the neceſſity of appointing proviſionally in the place of thoſe two public officers only one, were ſufficiently certified or not, by the formal petition which the Directory of the Diſtrict had ſent to the government on that ſubject, and conſequently, that in complying with that petition in favour of a perſon very particularly recommended by the *Procureur Syndic* of the Department, M. *Duport du Tertre*, far from being reprehenſible, had done nothing more than his duty, and made the wiſeſt uſe of a right which could not be diſputed.

The third charge relative to the granting of letters of licence, ſhowed arrant knavery or egregious ignorance. The Committee had confounded the licences of delay, wiſely authorized by the law, and always granted with the conſent of the majority of a man's creditors for the preſervation of their ſecurity, with injunctions of ſtaying the proceedings, which no law authorized, and by which the rights of the creditor were almoſt always injured, when the debtor was diſhoneſt. Although

though theſe injunctions, which were obtained by intrigue, by favour, and often by vile means, were often revoked on the repreſentations of the parties agrieved, ſtill they were an abuſe of authority incompatible with the New Conſtitution: but that was not the caſe with the ſalutary curb given by letters of licence to the vexatious and ruinous proſecutions of an unreaſonable creditor. The ordinance of 1669 was not repealed, and it was formally enacted by the laſt Article of the Conſtitution; "that ſuch former "laws as had not been annulled, ſhould be "in force till revoked or altered by the Le-"giſlative Power." M. *Duport du Tertre* was therefore perfectly regular on this point.

There was no better grounds for the fourth charge. The Conſtitution had aboliſhed pardons *only for crimes proſecuted according to the law of Juries.* This was evidently a formal exception as to crimes proſecuted according to the old forms before the eſtabliſhment of Juries, and the pardons for which M. *Duport du Tertre* was accuſed, had been granted in caſes of the latter kind.

The encroachment he was charged with having

having made on perſonal liberty, by delaying to carry the Act of Amneſty into execution, reſpecting a perſon condemned to the galleys, for trading in ſalt without a licence, was equally chimerical, and the conduct of the Miniſter on that occaſion much rather merited thanks than reproach from the moſt zealous partizans of liberty: for, on receiving in the end of December 1791, the repreſentations of the perſon in queſtion, he ſent them to the King's Commiſſioner at Breſt, to be lawfully attended to, and afterwards diſpatched a pardon for him, as ſoon as he was informed that the amneſty could not extend to him, as he had not been condemned for offences againſt the Salt Laws only, but for violently reſiſting the officers*.

The laſt head of accuſation was not only the moſt unjuſt, but the moſt abſurd of them all. On what grounds could M. *Duport du Tertre*'s counterſigning the letter which the King had written to the Aſſembly in anſwer

* By the 8th article of the law of the 21ſt of May, 1790, it was ſettled "that the King ſhould be requeſted "to permit the return of thoſe who had been baniſhed "from the Country for breach of the Salt Laws only, "and to cauſe all perſons confined in priſon or in the "galleys, only for that offence, to be ſet at liberty."

to

to the obſervations they had ſent againſt me, be charged as a crime againſt him? the Conſtitution required that the King's letters to the Legiſlative Body ſhould be counterſigned by a Miniſter, whoſe ſignature could only be conſidered as an atteſtation of his Majeſty's. But as the Miniſters were not authorized to diſcuſs thoſe letters, or to refuſe to counterſign them, they could never be reſponſible for their contents. It was not enough to advance impudently that the King's letter contained a falſehood, and that the object of that falſehood was to vilify the Aſſembly; it was neceſſary to prove it, which was impoſſible, and therefore the Reporter took care not to attempt it. It was evident that my juſtification was the ſole object of the King's letter; and the only fact mentioned in it was verified by the Minutes of the Aſſembly, where it undoubtedly appeared that they had decreed the votes being called over, that there was no grounds for proceeding on the denunciations ſtanding againſt me at that time, and from which the Marine Committee had propoſed that it ſhould be declared. I had loſt the confidence of the Nation. It is true that notwithſtanding the ſolemnity of this judgment, my ene-

mies finding themſelves the majority, at the opening of the Sitting next morning, eagerly ſeized the opportunity to obtain a decree that the Aſſembly ſhould addreſs ſome obſervations on my conduct to the King: but the decree of the preceding day was not reported, and as thoſe obſervations contained nothing more than the accuſations rejected by the Aſſembly, the King judging as they had judged, could not be ſuſpected of intending to vilify them.

Such was M. *Duport du Tertre*'s defence in the Sitting of the 13th of March: had the Committee given a juſt account of it, the Aſſembly could not have heſitated to reject all the denunciations they had received againſt him; but inſtead of repreſenting with accuracy the reaſons that juſtified the Miniſter, the Reporter mentioned them imperfectly and inaccurately, only that he might eaſily refute them, and diſpoſe the minds of the Aſſembly to the decree of impeachment. It was in fact propoſed; but the enemies of M. *Duport du Tertre* not being ſure of the majority, confined themſelves to obtaining an adjournment of the queſtion, in order to gain time for new manœuvres againſt him, and the option

of

of a moment more favourable to ruin him*.

The Miniſters who ſucceeded us, deſirous no doubt of avoiding the perſecutions with which he had had to ſtruggle, aſſumed before the Aſſembly the appearance and forms of the moſt decided Jacobiniſm. An abſolute change took place in our diplomatic relations with all the Cabinets of Europe: inſtead of being communicated only to the Committee, they were ſubmitted to the diſcuſſion of the Legiſlative Body, and the ap-

* The debate was not reſumed till the Sitting of the 2d of June. The Reporter, *Saladin*, pretending that he had two new articles of accuſation to preſent, recommenced his Report, adding in fact new charges, but ſtill more inſignificant than the former, and concluded as before with propoſing a decree of impeachment. M. *Duport du Tertre* was ſolidly and warmly defended by M. *Quatremere* and M. *Bougnol*. The furious Jacobins anſwered them only with declamation and calumny, which ſpun out this ſcandalous debate to the Sitting of the 5th of June. It was then terminated with a decree paſſed by a very great majority, by which it was declared that there were no grounds for impeaching M. *Duport du Tertre*, or of cenſuring his conduct. He was re-inſtated on the 13th of April in the office of Miniſter of Juſtice by *Duranthon*, the Procureur Syndic of the Department of Bourdeaux, a very zealous Conſtitutionaliſt, but a worthy man.

plauſe or reprobation of the galleries. The diſpatches of the new Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, and thoſe of our Ambaſſadors, whether in cyphers or not in cyphers, were publiſhed in the newſpapers, and became the ſubjects of the comments and debates of Clubs, Palais-Royal groups, and the workmen of the Fauxbourgs. One may eaſily imagine of what kind our negociations muſt be under ſuch a ſyſtem. Friendly and conciliatory explanations were taxed with cowardice or treachery; for theſe *Dumourier* ſubſtituted imperious demands, rhodomontade, provocations, and threats: in ſhort, the ſtyle of the orators of the Clubs, and of the Revolutionary pamphlets, became that of our Diplomatic language, and of all the patriotic Miniſters ambitious of great popularity *.

Our ambaſſador at Vienna (M. *de Noailles*) being very little acquainted with the new idioms of that language, ſhewed a very natural reluctance to make an eſſay of it with the Emperor's Miniſters. It was more than probable, indeed, that that Cabinet, who

* See *Dumourier*'s correſpondence with the *Chargé des Affaires* of France at the Court of Turin. (Moniteur of April 6, 1792.)

were

were more ſtrictly attached than any of the Cabinets of Europe to the ancient forms, would conſider ſuch an innovation as a moſt ſerious inſult, and that it would be enough to cauſe them to reject with indignation even the juſteſt demands. M. *de Noailles* delayed preſenting his credentials to the new Emperor, and begged permiſſion of the King to relinquiſh his embaſſy, as the ill ſtate of his health no longer permitted him to continue the functions of it, and as it was impoſſible for him to render in future any ſervice to his country by remaining at Vienna*. *Dumourier* communicated theſe diſpatches to the Aſſembly on the 14th of April. They were ſcarcely read, when ſeveral Members roſe to accuſe M. *de Noailles* of direct diſobedience to the King's orders, and of high treaſon. A motion was made for immediately paſſing a decree of impeachment againſt him, and was ſtrongly ſupported. It was going to be put to the vote, when *Dumourier* demanded and obtained a hearing. It was expected that he was going to undertake the defence of M. *de Noailles*; it would, in fact, have been eaſy for him to explain the diſpatches of that

* See Appendix, No. XVIII.

Ambaſſador in ſuch a manner, as completely to juſtify his conduct; and this was the part which, as a Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, he ſhould have taken on the occaſion. Had he adopted it, he would have rendered an important ſervice to the Aſſembly: he would have made them ſenſible of the conſequences and of the ſcandal of a decree of impeachment paſſed, without an inquiry, and with the moſt indecent precipitation, againſt an Ambaſſador whoſe conduct was irreproachable; but *Dumourier*, fearing, no doubt, to endanger his popularity, did not ſay a ſingle word in favour of M. *de Noailles*, and contented himſelf with reading a letter which the King had juſt written with his own hand to the King of Hungary and Bohemia, in the following terms:

"Sir, my brother and nephew! the "tranquillity of Europe depends upon the "reply your Majeſty will make, on con- "ſidering the conduct which it is incum- "bent on me to purſue, for the great inte- "reſts of the French nation, my own glory, "and the preſervation of the wretched "victims of the war with which France is "threatened by the union of the Powers. "Your Majeſty cannot doubt that it is *of*

" *my own accord and freely* I have accepted " the French Conſtitution. I have ſworn " to maintain it; my peace and honour de- " pend upon my doing ſo; and my fate is " bound in that of the nation whoſe here- " ditary repreſentative I am, and which, " notwithſtanding the calumnies ſpread " againſt it, merits, and ever will poſſeſs " the eſteem of all nations. The French " have ſworn to live free or die; I have " taken the ſame oath. M. *de Maulde*, " whom I ſend as my Ambaſſador Extraor- " dinary to your Majeſty, will explain to " you the means that remain to prevent the " calamities of the war which threatens " Europe. With theſe ſentiments, &c.

Signed " LOUIS."

Although this letter written by the King, as dictated by his Miniſters, muſt have been conſidered as a full proof of the ſtate of dependence and ſlavery to which his Majeſty was reduced, the Aſſembly could not but be ſatisfied with it, and *Dumourier* perhaps flattered himſelf that the applauſes it would obtain might operate a diverſion in favour of M. *de Noailles*; but ſcarcely was the letter

read through, when the decree of impeachment was put to the vote and paſſed.

While the Aſſembly were thus exerciſing the moſt unjuſt ſeverity towards M. *de Noailles* on an abſurd charge, for which there was no kind of proof, the Pariſians were preparing to celebrate the feaſt which was to be given in honour of the ſoldiers who had been releaſed from the galleys. It could not take place on the day of their arrival (April 9), either becauſe the preparations had taken more time than was expected, or becauſe the ſubſcriptions for it had not then amounted to a ſum ſufficient for the expences. It was however finally fixed for Sunday, the 15th of April. The Municipality, on being informed of it, paſſed a reſolution on the occaſion, which ſpread joy among the patriots, but the greateſt alarm among the friends of order, and particularly among the Royaliſts. It was as follows:

"The Municipal Body, informed that a "great number of citizens, overjoyed at "having the ſoldiers of Chateauvieux "within our walls, are to meet on Sunday "next, to devote themſelves to the pure "ſenti-

" ſentiments of joy and mirth: convinced
" that no mark of reſtraint ſhould repreſs
" thoſe generous effuſions; that the fulneſs
" of confidence ſhould ſuperſede the cau-
" tion of force; that the feaſts of liberty
" ſhould be free, like itſelf; that it is time
" to ſhow the people that they are eſteemed,
" that their reaſon and virtue are depended
" upon, and that it is thought that they can
" have no better guard than themſelves:
" not being able to recollect without emo-
" tion, that in theſe glorious days of liberty
" they repaired in crouds, and yet with
" order, to the *Champs de Mars* to raiſe a
" majeſtic temple to the Conſtitution; that
" they worked merrily to the muſic of in-
" ſtruments, and of that famous air which
" delighted free men, and made deſpots
" tremble; that no bayonet pointed out
" their way, or directed their motions;
" and that there never had been collected ſo
" great a body, that had been more peace-
" able, more ſtriking, or that had left hap-
" pier traces: perſuaded that it is as wiſe as
" it is moral to repeat this fine example,
" and to leave the people entirely to the
" ſentiment of their own dignity; certain
" that that ſentiment will dictate to them

" rules

" rules of order and harmony juſt as good " as thoſe of the moſt clear-ſighted and " rigid police; conſidering, moreover, that " the amuſements preparing are not com- " manded by any conſtituted authority, and " that the citizens, in aſſembling, cannot, " according to the laws, do it but peace- " ably, and without arms, RESOLVE as " follows:

" 1ſt, That no citizen, not on duty, can, " without being lawfully required, appear " in arms on Sunday next, the 15th of the " preſent month. Every kind of arms is " included in this prohibition:

" 2dly, That no carriages, except thoſe " for proviſions and for cleaning Paris, ſhall " appear on that day from ten o'clock in the " morning till ten at night."

In whom, then, did the Municipal Officers, the Police Magiſtrates of the Capital, place this unbounded confidence? To whom did they addreſs ſuch reſpectful compliments, ſuch diſguſting adulation? To that very populace, whoſe patriotiſm, ſo much boaſted, had never yet ſhewn itſelf but in inſurrections, and the moſt criminal exceſſes. What affinity was there between the concourſe of citizens of all claſſes, whom the enthuſiaſm

of

of the new Conſtitution, juſt dawning, had drawn together to work in the *Champ de Mars* in the month of July 1790, and this formidable union of the moſt violent ſeditious ſpirits and villains of every kind, collecting to commemorate, by a pretended civic feaſt, an enormous crime, and to celebrate its eſcaping puniſhment. Of all the Revolutionary orgies of which the *Champ-de-Mars* had been the theatre, that which had the greateſt analogy to the feaſt which was to be given there to the ſoldiers of Chateauvieux, was the famous 17th of July 1791, when the Municipal Officers and National Guard, on their arrival in the *Champ-de-Mars* with the red flag, were aſſailed with ſtones by *the ſovereign people*, and before they could reſtore order, were obliged to repel force by force; that is to ſay, by ſeveral diſcharges of muſquetry. The ſpot, the inſtigators, and the actors in the feaſt that was preparing, were the ſame; and if the object of their aſſembling was different, they were no leſs animated with the ſame ſpirit of inſurrection, emboldened by the immenſe increaſe of the credit and power of the Jacobins, who had ſtarted the idea of this feaſt, and directed all its plans,

only

only in the hope of deriving a great advantage from it in the execution of their ulterior plots. It was therefore very natural that all well-meaning men, and eſpecially all in the King's ſervice, ſhould be alarmed at the preparations for this feaſt, and the vauntings of the Jacobins. I called on M. *de la Porte*, and concerted with him the means we might each employ in providing for the ſafety of the Royal Family; and on this occaſion the Judge *Buob* gave his Majeſty the moſt eminent proofs of his zeal and attachment.

Great ſervices were alſo rendered by one *Lieutaut*, who had formerly been a National Guard of Marſeilles, and whom M. *de Leſſart* had recommended to me as an intelligent man, and one to be depended upon. Beſides being courageous, and entirely devoted to the King, he poſſeſſed the talents of varying his countenance, and changing the ſound of his voice ſo entirely, that he was not to be known for the ſame perſon. By this means he ſometimes made himſelf paſs for one of the Marſeillois; at other times, for a workman in one or other of the ſuburbs of Paris, whoſe accent and manners he could aſſume with wonderful ſucceſs. Thus,

in

in thoſe various characters, he gained admiſſion into all the patriotic meetings and groups; diſcovered their projects, and gave me information.

As it was to be dreaded that the Jacobins, ever on the watch, would ſeize the occaſion of the populace returning intoxicated from the *Champ-de-Mars*, where the *fête* of *Chateauvieux* was to be held, to excite them to attack the Palace, I inſtructed this agent to do every thing in his power to prevent this; for which purpoſe I directed him to employ about thirty of his moſt ſober friends to watch over the different groups, admoniſh them to moderation, entreating them not to diſgrace the patriotic fête by acts of tumult and exceſs, and aſſuring them that ſuch was the wiſh of the Jacobins, of *Petion*, *Marat*, *Robeſpierre*, &c. &c. I gave him ſix hundred livres to enable him to treat his principal agents with a good ſupper, and five livres each, in the name of a patriotic ſociety. I told him, at the ſame time, if his endeavours to maintain order were without effect, and if any danger was to be apprehended for the Palace, in that caſe he was to return before the populace left the *Champ-de-Mars*, and to give timely notice of

of the danger by a ſignal from a particular part of the Pont Royal that could be remarked at the *Pavilion de Flore*, at a window, where a man appointed by M. *de la Porte* was ſtationed to obſerve. But fortunately this precaution was unneceſſary, as the day paſſed with much greater tranquillity than was expected. I cannot determine whether this is to be attributed to the vigilance of my agents, or to a plan of the Jacobins, who might poſſibly have taken meaſures to prevent any tumult on this occaſion, that the Pariſians might be accuſtomed to ſee the populace aſſemble without dread.

The fête of Chateauvieux, contrived by the Jacobins to irritate the people againſt the King's pretended tyranny, had all the ſucceſs they could wiſh. The ſoldiers who had revolted, and who juſtly merited death, were carried in a triumphal car to the *Champ-de-Mars*, where the abſurd populace, under the guidance of the infamous *Collot d'Herbois*, proclaimed them martyrs of liberty, victims of deſpotiſm; and, as ſuch, careſſed and gave them money, over and above a conſiderable ſum raiſed by a general contribution.

This

This criminal farce was but too well calculated to familiarize the people to the idea of rebellion, to encourage them in it, and to extinguiſh the faint remains of their reſpect for the perſon of the King, whom the ſeditious already dared to deſignate by the term of the Tyrant.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XIV.

The King's Situation with his Jacobin Miniſters—M. de Noailles communicates Dumourier's Diſpatches to Count Cobentzel—The Emperor's Reply to them—Motives of the Jacobins for provoking a War—The King's Reluctance to propoſe War—He goes to the Aſſembly and propoſes it—Report made by Dumourier reſpecting the political Situation of the Country—War decreed by the Aſſembly againſt the King of Hungary and Bohemia—The Jacobins overjoyed—Their Aim and Manœuvres—Seditious Speech made at the Bar of the Aſſembly by Anacharſis Clootz—A Deputation from the

the Workmen of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine—Patriotic Offerings—Decree for devoting to the Country a Part of the Salaries of the Deputies—The Decree revoked—Rolland's Report on religious Diſturbances—Freſh Perſecutions of the Nonjuring Prieſts—The Abolition of Religion eſſential to the grand Object of the Jacobins.

THE King, by chooſing the new Miniſters from the Jacobin party, rendered his poſition more critical than it had ever been. The principal effect of this meaſure, which he had been induced to conſider a very popular one, was to render in future all his acts of popularity fruitleſs to himſelf, and entirely to transfer the merit of them to the Miniſters, who were ever as ready to take all the honour, as to throw on his Majeſty all the odium which the moſt ſimple and neceſſary acts of Government drew from the multitude, whoſe only aim was anarchy. Thus the King, bereaved of all ſupport, and of every reſource, had nothing to oppoſe to the ferocity of his enemies, their plots, and their attacks, but his invincible patience and extreme goodneſs; virtues always fatal to a

tottering throne, and often dangerous to the firmeſt, for they firſt weaken, then deſtroy the means of power neceſſary to ſupport it.

The Court of Vienna was not accuſtomed to give categorical anſwers, and the inſolence of *Dumourier*'s diſpatches was not calculated to produce a change. M. *de Noailles*, fearing leſt Prince *Kaunitz* ſhould treat the communication of them with contempt, and perhaps expreſs himſelf in the moſt inſulting terms, firſt had recourſe to Count *Cobentzel*, the Vice-Chancellor, with whom it was much eaſier to deal, and imparting to him the object of his laſt inſtructions, beſought him to make them known as ſoon as poſſible to the King of Hungary and Bohemia. Count *Cobentzel* juſtified his Court as to the hoſtile views it was ſuppoſed to have, and as to the charge of intending to intermeddle in our internal affairs, and of encouraging the projects of the Emigrants. With regard to the union of the Powers, he ſaid it was no longer a particular concern of the King of Hungary and Bohemia, that he could not withdraw from it but with the other Courts, and that the union would continue to have the ſame object ſo long as what remained to be ſettled with

with France continued unfiniſhed; particularly the ſatisfaction to be made to the Princes whoſe rights had been invaded, that due to the Pope for the Comtat of Avignon, and the meaſures to be taken in order to give our Government a ſufficient ſtrength to ſuppreſs what might make other States uneaſy. From the different explanations given by Count *Cobentzel*, it appeared that there was no intention to attack us, but that demands were to be made, which it ſeemed difficult to agree upon without the intervention of arms. Count *Cobentzel* having given an account of this converſation to the King his maſter, was charged by his Majeſty to tell M. *de Noailles*, "that "the demands he had been commiſſioned to "renew were anſwered by the note of the "18th of March; that the arrangements "expreſſed in that note could not be altered, "as it alſo contained the opinion of the "King of Pruſſia on the affairs of France; "an opinion in every point conformable to "that of the King of Hungary*."

This

* See M. *de Noailles'* diſpatches of the 5th and 7th of April 1792, Appendix, No. XIX. Theſe diſpatches were read in the Aſſembly on the 19th of April, when

This anſwer, by referring entirely to the note of the 18th of March, which the Aſſembly had indecently treated as evaſive and inſignificant, completely ſeconded the views of the factious, and concealed under the veil of public intereſt, and of the honour and dignity of the nation, the guilty motives of their wiſhing for war. They provoked it ſo eagerly only that they might have more opportunities and means of attacking the King, and rendering him odious to the people by accuſing him, from time to time, of treachery, and of intelligence with the Foreign Powers. The ſcrupulous accuracy with which his Majeſty, true to his oath, carried the Conſtitution into execution, had hitherto diſconcerted all the manœuvres of the Jacobins, and the charges they were continually making againſt him of not liking it, and of wiſhing to overthrow it, in order to reſtore the old ſyſtem, were no longer conſidered but as calumnies too vague and worn out to produce any effect. War opened a vaſt field of new impoſtures, much more ſerious, and doubly

it was determined to revoke the decree of impeachment which was paſſed five days before againſt M. *de Noailles.*

dangerous,

dangerous, as the eager credulity of the people in tales of plots, treachery, and correſpondence with the enemy, made it unneceſſary for thoſe who circulated ſuch impoſtures to adduce any proof of them, or even to ſupport them by the leaſt reference.

The King was aware of theſe dangers, which alarmed him much more for his family than for himſelf, but his mind was affected in a ſtill greater degree at the melancholy proſpect of every ſpecies of calamity which war would bring on France, and he ſaw with the deepeſt ſorrow that it was become inevitable. Such too was the unanimous opinion of the Miniſters, who were always ruled by the fear of endangering their popularity. All that the King could do was to delay and impede, by every means in his power, the final deciſion of the Council on M. *de Noailles'* laſt diſpatches; nor did his Majeſty conſent to propoſe to the Aſſembly to declare war againſt the Emperor till he had obliged all the Miniſters ſeparately to give him their opinions written and ſigned, with the reaſons on which they were founded. This formality, preſcribed by the Conſtitution, took place on the 20th of April. The King, accompanied by all the Miniſters,

went to the Aſſembly, and ſpoke as follows: "I am come to lay before the National Aſ- "ſembly one of the moſt important ſub- "jects that can engage their attention. My "Miniſter for Foreign Affairs will read to "you the report he has made in my Council "on our political ſituation."

This report is of too important a nature to be abridged, I ſhall therefore give it at length.

"Sire, When you ſwore to maintain the "Conſtitution which has ſecured your "crown; when your heart ſincerely blended "with the will of a free and ſovereign great "nation, you became the object of hatred to "the enemies of liberty. Pride and tyranny "have agitated all the Courts; no natural "tie, no treaty has been able to reſtrain "their injuſtice. Your former allies have "eraſed you from the rank of deſpots, but "the French have elevated you to the glo- "rious and ſolid dignity of ſupreme chief "of a regenerated nation. Your duties are "marked out by the Conſtitution which "you have accepted, and you will fulfil "them all. The French nation is calum- "niated, its ſovereignty diſavowed; Emi- "grant rebels find an aſylum among our "neighbours,

" neighbours, they aſſemble upon our " frontiers, they openly threaten to invade " their country with fire and ſword. Their " rage would be impotent, or would, per- " haps, have already given place to repent- " ance, had they not been ſupported by a " Power, which has broken all its ties with " us ever ſince it diſcovered that our re- " generation would change the form of our " alliance, and render it neceſſarily more " equal.

" Since the year 1756 Auſtria has been " making an ill uſe of a treaty of alliance to " which France has always ſhown too much " reſpect. This treaty has, ſince that " period, exhauſted our blood and treaſure " in unjuſt wars excited by ambition, " and terminated by treaties which were " dictated by crooked and fallacious poli- " tics, that always left the ſeeds of new wars. " Since that fatal period of 1756, France " has degraded herſelf ſo low, as to play " an under part in the bloody tragedies of " Deſpotiſm; ſhe has been ſubjected to the " ever reſtleſs, ever active ambition of the " Houſe of Auſtria, to whom ſhe had ſa- " crificed her natural alliances.

" As ſoon as the Houſe of Auſtria ſaw in " our Conſtitution that France could no " longer be the ſervile inſtrument of its am- " bition, it ſwore the deſtruction of that " work of reaſon; it forgot all the ſervices " which France had rendered it; in ſhort, " being no longer able to rule the French " nation, it is become its implacable " enemy.

" The death of *Joſeph* II. ſeemed to pre- " ſage more tranquillity on the part of his " ſucceſſor. *Leopold*, who had introduced " philoſophy into his Government in Tuſ- " cany, appeared intent only on repairing " the calamities which the inordinate am- " bition of his predeceſſor had brought upon " his States. *Leopold* hardly more than " appeared upon the Imperial Throne, and " yet he it was, who unceaſingly ſought to " ſtir up all the Powers of Europe againſt " us; he it was who, in the conferences at " Padua, Reichenbach, the Hague, and Pilnitz, " deviſed and directed the plans againſt us; " plans, Sire, which he veiled under the " degrading pretext of a falſe compaſſion " for your Majeſty, while you were de- " claring to the whole world that you were " free;

" free; while you were declaring that you " had freely accepted, and would with all " your power maintain the Conſtitution.

" It was then that, calumniating the na- " tion of which you are the hereditary repre- " ſentative, and inſulting you by feigning " not to give credit to your liberty and the " ſincerity of your intentions, this Prince " uſed all the ſprings of a dark and crafty " policy to increaſe the number of the ene- " mies of France, under pretences the leaſt " calculated to authoriſe ſo formidable a " league. It was *Leopold* who, long united " with Ruſſia to divide the ſpoils of Poland " and Turkey, detached from our alliance " the Monarch of the North, whoſe reſtleſs " activity never could have been ſtopped " but by death, at the moment when he was " about to become the inſtrument of the " fury of the Houſe of Auſtria.

" It was *Leopold* who ſtirred up againſt " France the ſucceſſor of the immortal " Frederic, againſt whom, from a ſtrict ad- " herence to imprudent treaties, we had for " nearly forty years defended the Houſe of " Auſtria; it was he who declared himſelf " the head of a league which aims at the " overthrow of our Conſtitution; it was

" he

" he whoſe official notes, of which Europe " may judge, invite one part of the French " nation to arm againſt the other, ſeeking " to combine againſt France the horrors of " civil war with the calamities of a foreign " one.

" Such are the outrages of the Emperor " *Leopold* againſt a generous nation, who, " ever ſince their regeneration, have re- " ſpected treaties, however diſadvantageous, " however injurious to them.

" It is neceſſary to report to your Ma- " jeſty an official note of the 18th of Fe- " bruary from Prince *Kaunitz*, becauſe " that note is the laſt paper that paſſed in " the negociation between the Emperor " *Leopold* and your Majeſty.

" It is in that note of the 18th of Fe- " bruary above all that his hoſtile projects " are diſcovered. That note, which is a " real declaration of war, deſerves a tho- " rough examination. Prince *Kaunitz*, " who is the organ of his maſter, begins " by ſaying: 'Never was a partial and 'pacific intention more clearly expreſſed 'and proved, than that of his Imperial 'Majeſty in the affair of the aſſembling in 'the country of Treves.' Indeed, the

" Court

" Court of Vienna had then compelled the " armed Emigrants to quit the Low Coun- " tries, for fear that the reſentment of the " French ſhould induce them to enter the " Belgic Provinces, where the rebels had " firſt aſſembled, and where they ſtill keep " a ſtaff of general officers, who appear in " regimentals, and with the white cockade, " even at the Court of Bruſſels, where, in " defiance of ſtipulations and cartels, they " have received, and do ſtill daily receive, " numerous bands, and even whole corps, " with arms, baggage, officers, colours, " and military cheſt, thus affording an un- " juſt protection to the moſt criminal de- " ſertion, accompanied with robbery and " treaſon. At the ſame time, the Court of " Vienna, on the irregular demand of the " Biſhop of Bâle, fixed a garriſon in the " country of Porentrui, to open an eaſy " entrance into the Department of the " Doubs, violating, by the eſtabliſhment " of that garriſon, the territory of the " Canton of Bâle, and violating the treaties " which place the country of Porentrui " under guarantee of that Canton and of " France.

" At the ſame time, the Court of Vienna

" conſiderably

" conſiderably increaſed the garriſons in the " Briſgau. At the ſame time, the Court " of Vienna gave orders to Mareſchal *Ben-* " *der* to march with his forces into the " Electorate of Treves, in caſe the French " ſhould march thither to diſperſe the aſ- " ſemblings of their Emigrant rebels. In- " deed, the Court of Vienna ſeemed to " preſcribe to the Elector of Treves not to " ſuffer thoſe aſſemblings any longer; and " indeed, that Eccleſiaſtical Prince ſeemed " for a moment to intend to diſperſe thoſe " troopings; but all this was nothing more " than illuſion; an attempt was made to " deceive your Miniſter at Treves by falſe- " hoods, and to intimidate him by out- " rages. The troopings are again begun at " Coblentz in greater numbers; three ma- " gazines have remained in the ſame ſtate; " and France has ſeen in all this buſineſs only " a treacherous game of threats and violence.

" M. *de Kaunitz* adds: 'That the 'nature and legitimate aim of the propoſal 'of confederation made by the Emperor in 'the month of July 1791, as well as the 'moderation and friendly intention of that 'which he made in the month of Novem- 'ber following, cannot have eſcaped the obſervation

' obſervation of the French Government.'
" This confeſſion of Prince *Kaunitz* con-
" firms the hoſtile deſigns of the Court of
" Vienna; it proves that, in contempt of
" its alliance, it ſtirred up the other Powers
" of Europe to form againſt France an
" offenſive league, which is but ſuſpended
" by Prince *Kaunitz'* circular letter of the
" 12th of November.

" M. *de Kaunitz* then ſays: ' That all
' Europe is convinced with the Emperor,
' that thoſe *people*, noted by the denomina-
' tion of the *Jacobin* party, wiſhing to
' excite the nation firſt to arm and then to
' break with the Emperor, after uſing the
' aſſembling in the State of Treves as pre-
' tences for the firſt, are now ſeeking to make
' pretences for war by explanations which they
' have brought on with his Imperial Majeſty
' in a crafty manner, and accompanied with
' circumſtances evidently calculated to ren-
' der it difficult for him to reconcile in his
' replies the pacific and friendly intentions
' he feels, with the ſentiment of his wounded
' dignity and repoſe endangered by the
' fruits of their manœuvre.'

" This obſcure paſſage contains falſe-
" hood and abuſe. What M. *Kaunitz*
" means

" means by *people*, is the Aſſembly, the " whole nation expreſſing their wiſh by " their Repreſentatives; it was not a club " that demanded categorical explanations; " and the diſtinction made by the Auſtrian " Miniſter ſhows the perfidious project of " repreſenting France as a prey to factions, " who remove every means of negociating " with her. In the remainder of the note, " he vents his ſpleen againſt what he calls " the party of the Jacobins, which he " terms a *pernicious ſect*.

" The death of the Emperor *Leopold* " ſhould have introduced different princi- " ples of negociation; but the ſyſtem of " the Houſe of Auſtria is ſtill the ſame, " and a change of the Princes who govern " makes no alteration in it.

" The King of Bohemia and Hungary, " urged to anſwer categorically, in order to " put an end to the inquietudes of the two " Nations and effect the tranquillity of Eu- " rope, has informed your Majeſty of his " laſt reſolutions in a note from Prince " *Kaunitz*, dated the 18th of March.

" As this note is the *ultimatum* of the " court of Vienna, as it is ſtill more provok- " ing than all the other papers of this nego-

ciaton,

" ciaton, it likewiſe merits a thorough exami-
" nation. The firſt word of this note is an
" inſidious affront: *The French Government*
" *having demanded categorical explana-*
" *tions, &c.* Sire, the King of the French
" is no longer then mentioned. M. *de Kau-*
" *nitz* ſeparates you from the Nation, to
" make you believe that you are not free, that
" you are as nothing in the negociations,
" and that you take no intereſt in them:
" your Majeſty's honour is engaged to con-
" tradict this perfidious inſinuation.

" M. *de Kaunitz* goes on thus: ' But
' much more does it become the dignity of
' great Powers to refute with frankneſs, and
' not to treat in *confidential inſinuations*,
' which may be veiled in the reply, or impu-
' tations and interpretations with which the
' words *peace* and *war* are mingled, and ac-
' companied with provocations of every kind.'

" Certainly, the Miniſter for Foreign Af-
" fairs muſt regret having mixed confidential
" inſinuations in ſuch a negociation; but he
" could not have imagined that Prince *Kau-*
" *nitz* could be ſo baſe as to mutilate and
" transform them to make an ill uſe of them:
" and if the negociation ſhould re-aſſume a
" pacific turn, the firſt ſtep your Majeſty

" would

" would take, would be to demand of the " King of Bohemia and Hungary, the puniſh- " ment of a faithleſs Premier, who by the " abuſe of confidence had laboured to alienate " the heart of that young monarch, and to " raiſe an irreconcilable enmity between two " nations, formed to eſteem each other.

" Prince *Kaunitz* then ſpeaks, ' of the ' juſtice of the grounds on which the ex- ' planations given by order of the late Em- ' peror are founded;' and adds, ' that the ' King of Hungary fully adopts the ſenti- ' ments of his father on this point.' He " then ſays, ' that no arming or meaſures ' are known of in the Auſtrian States, ' which can be termed preparations for ' war.'

" The contrary is proved, the confederation " of the Powers is known, the Auſtrian forces " are aſſembling, fortreſſes are raiſed, camps " are marked out, the generals and armies are " nominated, and to ſo many facts Prince " *Kaunitz* oppoſes a denial deſtitute of all " probability. He tell us, that the troubles of " the Low Countries are cauſed by the ex- " ample of France, and the ſecret practices " of the Jacobins, as if the troubles had not " broken out in the Low Countries before

" the

" the French Revolution, as if he could have " forgotten that the Conſtituent Aſſembly " had refuſed to take any part in thoſe trou- " bles.

" M. *de Kaunitz* adds: ' as to the confe- ' deration in which his late Imperial Ma- ' jeſty engaged with the moſt reſpectable ' Powers of Europe, the King of Hungary ' and Bohemia cannot anticipate their opi- ' nions and mutual determination, but he ' does not however believe that they will ' think it proper or poſſible to put an end ' to that confederation, before France puts ' an end to the weighty cauſes which gave ' riſe to it.' Here then is the King of Bo- " hemia and Hungary acceding to the league " formed by his father againſt France, and " declaring that that league is to laſt until " we ſubmit our Conſtitution to its judg- " ment and reviſion: here then he avows a " treaty which is a formal breach of that " of 1756.

" But ſhould their deſigns and artifices " ſucceed, his Majeſty flatters himſelf that " at leaſt the ſound and principal part of the " Nation, would then regard as a conſoling " proſpect of ſupport, the exiſtence of a " confederation whoſe views are worthy of

" their confidence, and of the moſt import-
" ant criſis that ever affected the common
" intereſts of Europe. In theſe perfidious
" expreſſions the proſpect of arming the
" citizens is not even diſſembled: thus does
" this ſuperannuated Miniſter throw amongſt
" us from a feeble hand the firebrand of
" civil war.

" No, Sire, the French will never be diſ-
" united when France is in danger. Many
" Emigrants will quit the guilty ſtandards
" they have followed, bluſh for their errors,
" and come and expiate them by fighting
" for the Country. Your Majeſty will ſet
" the example of civiſm by reſenting the
" outrages committed againſt the Nation.

" As you have appointed me Miniſter
" for Foreign Affairs, I was bound to juſtify
" the confidence of the Nation and yours,
" by employing in your name the energetic
" language of reaſon and of truth. The
" Miniſter of Vienna, finding himſelf too
" much preſſed by a negociation replete with
" frankneſs, retired within himſelf, and re-
" ſorted to that note of the 18th of March,
" of which I have juſt given you the par-
" ticulars; that note is a real declaration of
" war. Hoſtilities are only the conſe-
" quence,

" quence, for a ſtate of war does not exiſt
" in firing of cannon, but in provocations,
" preparations, and inſults.

" Sire, from this ſtatement it appears, 1ſt,
" that the Treaty of 1756 is broken by an
" Act of the Houſe of Auſtria; 2dly,
" that the confederation among the Powers,
" inſtigated by the Emperor *Leopold* in the
" month of July 1791 and confirmed by the
" King of Hungary and Bohemia according
" to the note of Prince *Kaunitz* of the 18th
" of March 1792, which is the *ultimatum*
" of the negociations, being directed againſt
" France, is a formal act of hoſtility; 3dly,
" That having given notice, by order of
" your Majeſty, *that you would decidedly*
" *conſider yourſelf in a ſtate of war, if the*
" *meſſenger did not on his return bring back*
" *a direct and frank declaration, in anſwer*
" *to the two diſpatches of the 19th and 27th*
" *of March*, this *ultimatum*, which is no
" reply to them, is equivalent to a declara-
" tion of war; 4thly, that immediate orders
" ſhould be ſent to M. *de Noailles* to return
" to France without taking leave, and ceaſe
" all correſpondence with the Court of
" Vienna.

" After all theſe reflections, which ariſe

" from ſo momentous a determination, in
" which the point is to weigh with the moſt
" ſcrupulous equity on the one hand, the
" neceſſity of ſupporting and avenging the
" outraged ſovereignty of the French Nation,
" and on the other, the calamities which
" may be the conſequences of war:

" Conſidering that the overbearing cir-
" cumſtances in which we find ourſelves,
" and which are daily becoming more ur-
" gent from the approach of various Auſ-
" trian armies aſſembling on all parts of our
" frontiers, compel us at length to take a de-
" ciſive reſolution:

" That on the 29th of November, the
" National Aſſembly ſent a deputation to the
" King, to requeſt that he would take the
" firmeſt meaſures for putting an end to the
" aſſembling and enliſting going on on the
" frontiers, and to require a reparation for
" ſuch French citizens as had received
" injuries:

" That on the 14th of December, the
" King expreſſed to the National Aſſembly
" the confidence he ſtill had at that time in
" the friendly diſpoſition of the Emperor,
" adding that he would at the ſame time
" make ſuch military arrangements as were
" moſt

" moſt proper to enforce a reſpect to his de-
" clarations, and, that if they were not at-
" tended to, it would only remain for him
" to propoſe war; and it was at this time
" that the National Aſſembly decreed that
" the ſtate of the forces ſtationed on the
" frontiers of the empire, ſhould be made
" known:

" That on the 14th of January the Na-
" tional Aſſembly requeſted the King to de-
" mand of the Emperor, in the name of the
" French Nation, clear and preciſe expla-
" nations of his intentions, fixing the 10th
" of February for the time of his anſwers,
" and declaring that in default of an anſwer,
" *ſuch conduct in the Emperor, ſhould be*
" *conſidered by the Nation as a breach of*
" *the treaty of* 1756, *and as a mark of hoſ-*
" *tility:*

" That on the 25th of January the Na-
" tional Aſſembly paſſed a decree conſiſting
" of five articles, the third of which extend-
" ed the time given to the Emperor to the
" 1ſt of March, adding that *his ſilence, as*
" *well as all evaſive or dilatory replies,*
" *would be regarded as a declaration of*
" *war:*

" Conſidering that the honour of the

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" King of the French and his ſincerity are
" baſely attacked by the marked affectation
" of ſeparating him from the Nation, in the
" official note of the 18th of March, in
" which the anſwer is made *to the French*
" *Government*, inſtead of *to the King of the*
" *French*:

" Conſidering that ſince the period of its re-
" generation, the French Nation has been pro-
" voked by the Court of Vienna and its agents
" in the moſt intolerable manner, that it has
" been conſtantly ſuffering outrages in the
" perſon of M. *Dumouriez*, ſent by the King
" and diſgracefully detained under an arreſt,
" in the perſons of a great number of French
" citizens inſulted or impriſoned in the dif-
" ferent Provinces of the Auſtrian domi-
" nions, through hatred to our Conſtitution,
" our national uniform, and the diſtinguiſh-
" ing colours of our Liberty:

" Conſidering that throughout the Con-
" ſtitution there is no article to be found
" which authorizes the King to declare the
" Nation at war; that on the contrary, in
" Article 2, Sect. 1, of Chap. 3, *on the*
" *exerciſe of the Legiſlative Power*, it is
" ſaid, War cannot be decided upon but by
" a degree of the Legiſlative Body paſſed on

" the

" the formal and neceſſary propoſal of the
" King, and ſanctioned by him, and that
" therefore it is not a counſel that the King
" can aſk, but a formal propoſal that he
" muſt neceſſarily make to the National Aſ-
" ſembly:

" Conſidering, laſtly, that it is the decided
" will of the French Nation not to ſuffer
" any outrage, nor any alteration in the
" Conſtitution which they have made for
" themſelves; and that the King by the
" oath he has taken to maintain that Conſti-
" tion, is become the depoſitary of the dig-
" nity and ſafety of the French Nation; I
" conclude that, relying on the juſtice of
" theſe grounds, and on the energy of the
" French people and their Repreſenta-
" tives, his Majeſty, attended by his Mi-
" niſters, ſhould go to the National Aſſem-
" bly, and propoſe to them war againſt
" Auſtria."

When *Dumourier* had read this Report, the King reſumed his ſpeech: " You have now
" heard," ſaid he, " the Report that was made
" to my Council, by whom its concluſions
" were unanimouſly adopted. I have my-
" ſelf adopted this deciſion: it is conform-
" able to the wiſh frequently expreſſed of

" the National Aſſembly, and to that which
" has been addreſſed to me by ſeveral of the
" citizens of various Departments. It was
" incumbent upon me to uſe every means in
" my power to preſerve peace; I now come,
" according to the Conſtitution, formally to
" propoſe to you war againſt the King of
" Hungary and Bohemia."

Although this fatal propoſition was exactly what the Aſſembly wiſhed, it obtained but a very few frigid plaudits. They knew that it had been with extreme repugnance that the King had adopted this ſtep, and they were unwilling he ſhould be ignorant that they gave him no credit for it.

As ſoon as the King left the Hall, the Aſſembly broke up the Sitting, and adjourned the conſideration of his Majeſty's propoſition till five o'clock in the afternoon. A deliberation of ſuch great importance doubtleſs required the moſt profound recollection, the matureſt reflections, the moſt impartial examination of all the papers of our diplomatic correſpondence, not only with the Court of Vienna, but with the other Courts that might join it, whoſe diſpoſitions conſequently it was indiſpenſable to know, and whoſe intereſts were to be taken into conſideration,

ſideration, for it was not only the fate of France that was in queſtion, but that of all the States of Europe, and the lives of ſome millions of men. Theſe prudent conſiderations were forcibly repreſented to the Aſſembly by ſome of the Members, who were of opinion that before they decided on the propoſition of the King, the report made to the Council, and all the papers relative to it, ſhould be referred to the Diplomatic Committee to ſtate an account of them. This opinion was only anſwered with murmurs, low jeſts, and indecent laughter, and at that very Sitting, after a debate of two hours in which the Revolutionary fanaticiſm, heightened by the fumes of digeſtion, produced the moſt extravagant motions and vauntings, the deliberation concluded with the following decree:

"The National Aſſembly, deliberating "on the King's formal propoſal, conſider- "ing that the Court of Vienna, in contempt "of treaties, has never ceaſed granting open "protection to the French rebels, that it has "urged and formed a union with ſeveral "Powers of Europe, againſt the independ- "ence and ſafety of the French Nation;

"that

" that *Francis* I. King of Hungary and Bo-
" hemia, has by his notes of the 18th of
" March, and 7th of April laſt, refuſed to
" renounce this union; that notwithſtanding
" the propoſal made to him by the note of
" the 11th of March 1792, for reducing
" on both ſides the troops on the Frontiers
" to the peace eſtabliſhment, he has per-
" ſiſted in and increaſed hoſtile preparations,
" that he has formally outraged the ſove-
" reignty of the French Nation in declaring
" his intention to ſupport the pretenſions of
" the German Princes who had poſſeſſions
" in France, for which the French Nation
" has always offered indemnities, that he
" has endeavoured to divide the French
" citizens and to arm them againſt one ano-
" ther, by offering the malcontents a ſup-
" port in the union of the Powers; conſi-
" dering laſtly, that the refuſal to reply to
" the laſt diſpatches of the King of the
" French, leaves no farther hope of obtain-
" ing, by means of an amicable negociation,
" a redreſs of theſe different grievances, and
" is equivalent to a declaration of war,
" DECREES that there is urgency.

" The National Aſſembly declare that the
" French Nation, faithful to the principles

" con-

" conſecrated by the Conſtitution, *of under-*
" *taking no war with the view of making*
" *conqueſts, and of never employing their*
" *forces againſt the liberty of any Nation,*
" take up arms only in defence of their own
" liberty and independence; that the war
" they are obliged to enter into is not a war
" of Nation againſt Nation, but the juſt de-
" fence of a free people againſt the unjuſt
" aggreſſion of a King; that the French will
" never confound their brethren with their
" real enemies; that they will neglect no-
" thing to ſoften the ſcourge of war, to ſpare
" and preſerve property, and to caſt all the
" misfortunes inſeparable from war, on thoſe
" who ſhall league againſt Liberty; that
" they adopt beforehand all foreigners, who,
" abjuring the cauſe of their enemies, ſhall
" repair to their banners and devote them-
" ſelves to the defence of their liberty; that
" they will even favour, by every means in
" their power, their eſtabliſhment in France;
" deliberating on the King's formal propo-
" ſal, and after having decreed that there is
" urgency, DECREES war againſt the King of
" Hungary and Bohemia."

This decree was paſſed almoſt unanimouſly, for of the voters there were but ſeven

ſeven who had the prudence and the courage to proteſt againſt it: thoſe were *Theodore de Lameth*, *De Jancourt*, *Bäert*, *Gentil*, *Dumas*, *Huat*, and *Bequet*. The laſt mentioned ſupported his opinion by an excellent ſpeech, in which he refuted the report made to the Council with the moſt ſolid arguments, and drew a picture truly prophetic of the diſaſtrous conſequences which would attend the war they were going to declare. He alſo dwelt with great force on the extreme imprudence of undertaking it, till order had been reſtored in the finances. He was anſwered that he knew nothing about them, that they were in a better ſtate than thoſe of all the Powers armed againſt France, and that there was more money than was wanted *. Not to leave any doubt on this head,

* According to the report made by *Cambon*, in the Sitting of April 3, the national debt, paying intereſt and annuities, amounted to 276,391,141 livres: viz. paying intereſt, 76,844,949 livres; annuity, 102,255,192 livres; intereſt for debts of towns and commonalties, 6,000,000 livres; annuities for eccleſiaſtical penſions, 66,000,000 livres; for divers aids on annuities, 13,291,000 livres; for penſions, 12,000,000 livres. The debt in aſſignats, or amount of thoſe remaining in circulation, after deducting thoſe that had been burnt, amounted

head, the Aſſembly decreed in the ſame Sitting, that the troops, inſtead of receiving a

amounted on the 1ſt of March to 1,531,626,152 livres. The reſources in national property, which was to meet this debt, and the ſale of which had been ordered, amounted to 1,819,462,843 livres, after deducting the payments already made. The ſurplus of this ſum was to be appropriated to the extraordinary expences of the year. The demandable debt, liquidated, or to be liquidated, and that due at a fixed time, amounted on the 1ſt of April, deducting the payments already made, to the ſum of 1,518,591,270 livres. To meet this, the Committee propoſed, 1ſt, the ſale of 4,500,000 acres of national woods, which, valued at 300 livres, would produce 1,350,000,000; 2dly, the price of the ſalt houſes, eſtimated at 50,000,000; 3dly, the profit to be expected on the ſale of the pledged domains, eſtimated at 100,000,000; 4thly, the ſale of divers national domains, ſuch as the houſes of the monks and nuns then exiſting, the property of the *Ferme générale*, the revenue produced by the *Pays d'états*, and other articles not eſtimated, but valued, on a rough ſcale, at 100,000,000: total, 1,600,000,000 (ſurplus, 81,408,730 livres). It was ſtated in the ſame report, that the arrears of the taxes on the 1ſt of January 1792, amounted to 281,591,138 livres: and *Cambon* gave notice, that a conſtant arrear of a year's revenue was to be expected. See alſo a comparative ſtatement of the exigences and reſources of the French nation, preſented to the Aſſembly in the name of the Committee of the ordinary and extraordinary finances, and publiſhed in ſeveral Journals.—*Moniteur of April* 21, 1792.

part

part of their pay in aſſignats, ſhould in future be paid the whole in money.

The decree by which the Aſſembly adopted the King's propoſal, was preſented to his Majeſty on the ſame day at eleven o'clock at night by a deputation of twenty-four Members, and ſanctioned the next day. The Jacobins, tranſported with joy, exalted to the ſkies, in their clubs and pamphlets, the energy of the Aſſembly, and the patriotiſm of the Miniſters; but, at the ſame time, they revealed that it was much leſs the intereſt of the nation that animated them than the ardent deſire of propelling the Revolution more rapidly and more certainly towards their principal object, the total annihilation of Royalty. They troubled themſelves little with the thought whether France were or were not in a ſituation to ſupport the war; all they were anxious about was, to take every poſſible advantage, againſt the King, of the critical poſition in which the new order of things placed his Majeſty. Their orators writers, and truſty journaliſts were inceſſantly repeating that the moſt eſſential point in undertaking the war was, to begin with preventing all treaſons by unmaſking traitors, by unveiling the manœuvres and plots of the

the *Auſtrian Committee*; for, it was always this pretended Committee, the exiſtence of which had never been but an abſurd ſuppoſition, that was accuſed, not only of directing all the Cabinets of Europe, but alſo of exciting all the diſturbances in the interior of the kingdom. Theſe atrocious impoſtures were the more dangerous, as the King could not deſcend to refute them; and, as the eager credulity of the people as to plots made it unneceſſary for the authors of theſe calumnies, to ſupport them by the ſlighteſt proof. Nor was it on the people alone that they made an impreſſion, many Members of the Legiſlative Body believed them true, or, at leaſt, feigned to do ſo; of which there is ſufficient evidence in the Minutes of the Sittings. We may, beſides, form a juſt idea of the degree of wickedneſs or delirium which pervaded this Aſſembly, by the general applauſe and honours *Anacharſis Clootz* obtained from them on delivering at their bar a moſt ſeditious, extravagant, and ridiculous ſpeech in the Evening Sitting of the 21ſt of April.

"Legiſlators!" ſaid he, "the deſpair of "European tyranny compels a generous and "free

" free nation to add the arms of War to the
" arms of Reaſon. The Kings condemned
" by *Minerva* appeal to the tribunal of *Bel-*
" *lona*. This is the criſis of the univerſe;
" the fate of mankind is in the hands of
" France. We are fighting for their rights,
" and our victories will give a new luſtre to
" human dignity. We will ſtrike deſpots,
" and deliver men. For every tyrant thrown
" to the ground a nation ſhall iſſue from
" ſlavery. God cleared the original chaos,
" the French will clear the feodal chaos.
" God is powerful, and it was his will:
" we are powerful, and it is our will. Free
" men are the gods of the earth, and the
" human race ſhall be ſtronger than baſhaws.
" Our enemies wage an impious war againſt
" us with ſlaviſh ſoldiers and extorted gold;
" we wage a holy war ſupported by willing
" ſoldiers, and contributions freely given.
" Our means muſt increaſe by the inveteracy
" of the men-eaters, and our defeats as well as
" our triumphs will turn to the advantage of
" general liberty. Twenty deſpotic thrones
" will not cruſh the nation of the Franks.
" The tyrants ſhall learn with terror that
" that the Citizens of France, and the Citi-

" zens

" Citizens of the world are preparing to
" make the greateſt ſacrifices for the ſuc-
" ceſs of a cauſe in which all men are eſ-
" ſentially concerned. Yes, we ſhall be
" able to content ourſelves with coarſe food,
" with the black broth of the Spartans, to
" maintain a war which ſhall be ſucceeded
" by perpetual peace. The rich will reduce
" themſelves to the fare of the poor, that
" our armies may be ſupplied with provi-
" ſions by the ſuperfluity of their wealth.
" The pompous cars of luxury will be tranſ-
" formed into numerous trains of artillery.
" Our victories ſhall be our entertainments.
" We will not loſe our rights by gorman-
" dizing, like the brother of a Hebrew Pa-
" triarch. Frugality has in all times been
" the foundation of independence. Let us
" be temperate one year, and the world will
" be free for ever. Let us be temperate for
" our country, and we ſhall avoid the com-
" pulſive temperance of ſlaves. *Tarquins*
" and *Porſennas* dread the abſtinence and
" paleneſs of *Brutuſſes* and *Scævolas*.—
" Where is the Frenchman ſo baſe or ſo
" blind, as to ſuffer the fruitful and ſmiling
" fields he inhabits to be torn from him,
" while the Laplander, encloſed in froſts,

" and the Caffer, ſcorched by the ſun, pre-
" fer their barren native ſoil to the fertility
" of a foreign land? Does the worſhip of
" liberty require fewer oblations than ſuper-
" ſtitious worſhip? Would not the chief
" place of independence have its pilgrims
" and its *exvotos*, as well as the chief places
" of Chriſtians and Muſſelmans? Would
" the religion of the rights of man inſpire
" leſs virtue, zeal, and enthuſiaſm than the
" religion of falſe prophets? Gold, ſilver,
" and precious ſtones are accumulated by
" general ſuperſtition at Rome and at
" Mecca; and will not the general love of
" liberty fill the treaſury of France, the
" treaſury of Mankind with the offerings
" of liberation!—Legiſlators! I depoſit in
" this ſanctuary, in preſence of my *Lares*
" and of my *Penates*, in the ſanctuary of
" the Conſtitutional Law, the ſum of
" 12,000 livres, to clothe, equip, arm, and
" pay from forty to fifty combatants in the
" ſacred war of men againſt tyrants. Too
" happy ſhall I be if the influence of my
" example accelerates the downfal of op-
" preſſion. I preſent you, at the ſame time,
" my laſt work, the very title of which
" makes the Ariſtocrats tremble: *The Uni-*
" *verſal*

" *verſal Republic.* It is by conſecrating " my fortune and my labours to the ame- " lioration of the human ſpecies that I " ſhall be all my life *the ſpeaker of Man-* " *kind.*"

The Preſident accepted, in the name of the Aſſembly, the offering of this mad demagogue, and invited him to the honours of the Sitting. He walked acroſs the Hall amidſt the acclamations and applauſes of the Aſſembly, who decreed unanimouſly that honourable mention ſhould be made in the Minutes of this impudent harangue, and that it ſhould be printed and diſtributed. In the following Sitting, the Aſſembly, with the ſame enthuſiaſm, received a deputation of the workmen of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, demanding to be ſent to the poſt of the greateſt danger, *in order that Kings, their valets, and Princes, might know the men of the 14th of July.* " We were " ſlandered," continued the Speaker, " be- " cauſe we thought it right to celebrate the " arrival of our brothers of Chateauvieux " by a feaſt, in honour of liberty, of which " they were martyrs. We were accuſed of " the project of debaſing the Conſtituent " Aſſembly. No; we only deſpiſe the

" traitors who ſometimes miſled our firſt " repreſentatives, thoſe pitiful fellows, who " offered to the monſter of Royaliſm a po- " pular burnt-ſacrifice. There only wanted " a King to this feaſt: but Liberty hovered " over the jubilee, and her car was more " exalted than all the thrones of deſpots. " It was with croſſes and blue ribbons that " fanaticiſm and pride corrupted the nation; " now, let the ſight of the Baſtile, of mar- " tial ſports and civic triumphs, recreate " the people after their painful labours, " and preſent to them their happineſs, their " glory, and their power."

The applauſes laviſhed by the Aſſembly on all theſe ſeditious declamations were but too expreſſive of the diſcredit of the New Conſtitution, the progreſs of Republicaniſm, and the plan of diſpoſing and habituating the public to it.

The example of *Anacharſis Clootz* produced ſome petty patriotic offerings, almoſt all anonymous. The moſt remarkable was that of a Savoyard, who, priding himſelf on having been hanged in effigy at Turin for extolling the French Conſtitution, promiſed thirteen livres a month in ſilver, and paid the firſt month in advance. All theſe

gifts

gifts were accepted with gratitude, and honourable mention made of them, notwithſtanding the ridiculous paltryneſs of them, and raiſed in the Aſſembly ſuch a deſire of contributing by pecuniary ſacrifices to the defence and ſafety of the country, that they decreed by acclamation that every Member ſhould devote to the country the third of their ſalaries during the months of May, June, and July*.

This patriotic enthuſiaſm, which the evening hawkers of the newſpapers proclaimed with all the ſtrength of their lungs, ſoon cooled, and, at the opening of the next Sitting, the decree paſſed the day before was revoked by a great majority, on the grounds of its being eſſential to patriotic gifts that they ſhould be voluntary, which character they would no longer have were a decree to make them an obligation; and that, beſides, there was no Counter-revolutionary means more dangerous than that of thus forcibly reducing the ſalaries attached to public functions, as the poor citizens would be obliged to relinquiſh them, and the na-

* This ſacrifice, amounting to 546 livres each deputy, would have produced the ſum of 406,770 livres.

tion would then fall again into the Ariſtocracy of the wealthy. The minority in vain urged the indecency of reviſing a decree ſanctioned by public opinion and general applauſe. They tried with as little ſucceſs the call of votes; the decree was declared finally revoked, and, after a long and tumultuous agitation, the Aſſembly paſſed to the order of the day, in conſideration of there being eſtabliſhed in their offices a regiſtry, where the voluntary contributions of the Members ſhould be received.

Theſe miſerable debates were put an end to by the Miniſter *Rolland*, who made a long and tedious report on the alarming progreſs of religious diſturbances throughout the kingdom, which he imputed without any exception to the pretended coalition of the nonjuring prieſts with the Ariſtocrats; and, indeed, ſuch was the inference to be drawn from his correſpondence with the Directories of the Departments, which were almoſt all compoſed of the moſt furious Jacobins. The greater part of the Directories had paſſed the moſt oppreſſive reſolutions againſt thoſe unfortunate prieſts: ſome enjoined them to quit the pariſhes they ſerved, or remove to a certain diſtance from them in a given

time;

time; others ſent them to live together in the ſame town or in the capital of the Department, with orders to appear every day at a fixed hour to anſwer to the call of their names, under pain of being deprived of their allowance. M. *Cahier de Gerville*, a ſtrict obſerver of the Conſtitution, had not been able to refrain from cenſuring abuſes of authority ſo contrary to it, and had written to the Departments where theſe reſolutions had been paſſed to ſay, that if they were not retracted, he ſhould be under the neceſſity of having them annulled by the Council. The Jacobins might naturally expect more indulgence from one of their moſt zealous colleagues; and ſo it was, for the Miniſter *Rolland* ſaw in the arrangements of moſt of thoſe reſolutions nothing more than meaſures of policy; and the reſt appeared to him to have been dictated by imperious neceſſity. "I ſubmit them all to the Aſſembly," ſaid he, "as alone competent to judge of what "circumſtances may have rendered ne-"ceſſary beyond the law, and what the "common ſafety may render excuſable."

The firſt motion made after this report, was to ſhip all the refractory Prieſts, and ſend them to America. This received much

applauſe from the galleries and a part of the Aſſembly, but was not however adopted; and it was only decreed, "that the Miniſter's "memorial ſhould be referred to the Com-"mittee of Twelve, who, in their Report, "ſhould inveſtigate the principles of tranſ-"portation, in order that it might be un-"derſtood in what circumſtances it was "allowable for a nation to eject from its "boſom ſuch as were injurious to it by re-"maining."

Such, then, in reſpect to the Catholic religion, were the effects of that religious toleration eſtabliſhed by the new Conſtitution, and they were to be expected. The fact was, that the abolition of religion was not leſs neceſſary than that of nobility, to the project of annihilating the Monarchical Government. The Republican faction fearing that this abolition was not ſufficiently ſecured by the ſuppreſſion of all the privileges and prerogatives of the clergy and nobility, nor by the invaſion or robbery of their property, regarded the expatriation of the gentlemen and prieſts who remained faithful, as eſſential to the completion of the Revolution, and employed every poſſible

manœuvre

manœuvre to force them to it. Hence the pillaging and burning of the ſeats of the nobility, and all the outrages exerciſed againſt them; but their emigration, and that of the principal members of the clergy, anſwered but imperfectly the end propoſed. It was neceſſary to ſcour the territory of the future Republic of ſo many thouſands of worthy pariſh prieſts and vicars, whoſe ſteady adherence defied all outrages and all dangers. The great point, therefore, was to render them odious to the people, by imputing to them alone all the troubles and calamities under which they groaned. But the irkſome exiſtence, the perſecutions, the outrages brought upon them by theſe calumnies, did not diſcourage them. Their enemies thought to render them contemptible, by compelling them to leave off the dreſs of their profeſſion *; but they always preſerved its ſpirit, and exalted its dignity, by the intrepid zeal with which they perſiſted in performing

* This decree, which originated with the Conſtitutional prieſts, was paſſed in the Sitting of the 6th of April, on the motion of the Abbé *Torné*, the Conſtitutional Biſhop of the central See. It was ſcarcely pronounced, when the Abbé *Fauchet*, the Conſtitutional Biſhop

forming its duties: there remained, therefore, no other way of getting rid of them, but by devoting them to exile or tranſportation, and meaſures of this kind could hardly appear too rigorous to the Aſſembly, when the Miniſter, *Rolland*, ſpeaking in the King's name, conſidered them but as meaſures of policy.

Biſhop of Calvados put his calot into his pocket. The Conſtitutional Biſhop of Limoges, willing to give more dignity to his ſubmiſſion to this decree, preſented his golden croſs to the Aſſembly for the ſupport of a national guard on the frontiers, and declared that he ſhould in future bear only an ebony croſs in the exerciſe of his religious functions.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XV.

Remarks on the Sum granted for ſecret Services—Dumourier applies for an Augmentation of it—The Pains he takes to obtain it—Diſpute with the Court of Turin reſpecting the French Plenipotentiary De Semonville—The Miniſters make a patriotic Tribute of One-fifth of their Emoluments—Pikes preſented to the Aſſembly by the Conquerors of the Baſtile—Opening of the Campaign—The Plan of it—Diſapproved of by Mareſchal Rochambeau—General Theobald Dillon murdered by his Soldiers—Diſaſters of General de Biron's Army—Failure of the Operations propoſed to be performed by

by Mareſchal Luckner's Army—Fruitleſs Succeſs of the Army under General La Fayette—Effect produced at Paris by the Diſgraces of the Armies—Marat, Carra, and other Journaliſts denounced by M. Beugnot—The Jacobins denounce the Journal, entitled "The Friend of the "King"—Decrees of Impeachment againſt the Editor of it, and againſt Marat—Reflections ſuggeſted by the Events at the Opening of the Campaign—Letters to the King from Mareſchal Rochambeau, who begs Permiſſion to reſign—Dumourier ſeizes a favourable Occaſion to juſtify himſelf to the Aſſembly—M. de Rochambeau's Reſignation creates general Diſcontent—Conduct of General Biron and Mareſchal Luckner on the Occaſion—The Reſult of it—Feſtival in Honour of the Mayor d'Etampes.

THE ſum appropriated to the ſecret ſervices of the department for Foreign Affairs had been long fixed at 1,500,000 livres a year. As the Miniſter might diſpoſe of this as he thought proper, without giving any account of it to the Council, and ſimply with the approbation of the King, he might

might ſafely employ any portion of it on objects unconnected with his department. M. *de Montmorin* and M. *de Leſſart* had more than once made uſe of it ſucceſsfully to defeat the manœuvres of the factious; and had they been leſs timid in their prudence, they might on ſeveral occaſions have derived much more advantage from it for the King; for at that time one might at very little expence have put the workmen of the Fauxbourgs in motion, kept the galleries of the Legiſlative Body and Jacobin Club in pay, and even neutralized in both the Members who had the greateſt influence, and who, for the moſt part, were ſo violent in their ſpeeches, only with the view of making a better bargain for their ſilence.

Dumourier, raiſed to the Miniſtry by Jacobiniſm, and conſequently more profoundly initiated than the Miniſters juſt mentioned in the ſecrets of Revolutionary tactics, would alſo, by his audacity and energy, have had it more in his power to make a good uſe of the ſum allowed for the ſecret ſervices of his department, for the ſafety of the Monarchy and of the King: and many ſuppoſed he had this plan in view, when they obſerved the ſucceſs of his

manœuvres

manœuvres in the Aſſembly for increaſing this ſum 4,500,000 livres a year. The demand of it was made in a letter from the King, on the grounds of this augmentation being required by exiſting circumſtances; and the letter was referred to the Diplomatic Committee and Extraordinary Committee of Finances, by whom it was diſcuſſed with *Dumourier*. He proved ſo clearly, that the greateſt intereſts of the Revolution, of the Conſtitution, of liberty, &c. &c. were eſſentially connected with the King's demand, that the two Committees were unanimouſly of opinion that it ſhould be granted; but it was ſtill neceſſary to ſecure the ſame ſucceſs in the Aſſembly, and for this purpoſe *Dumourier* repaired to the Hall on the day of the report, and gave an account of an unpleaſant circumſtance which had been experienced from the Court of Turin by M. *de Semonville*, appointed Miniſter Plenipotentiary to the King of Sardinia; and of the letter which the King had authorized him to write on this occaſion, *to ſupport the dignity of the French nation.*

This unpleaſant circumſtance, which, according to *Dumourier*, was to be conſidered

dered as very extraordinary, very ſerious, very offenſive, &c. was ſimply as follows:

M. *de Semonville*, while Envoy Extraordinary at Genoa, had paſſed the chief part of his time in promoting diſorder, by propagating, in ſeditious writings, maxims calculated to excite the people to inſurrection and contempt of the magiſtrates. He boaſted that he had greatly contributed to the revolution of Brabant, and that he would ſoon do as much in Piedmont. His Revolutionary principles and evil intentions againſt all governments were ſo well known, that ſome Courts had already declared to the Republic of Genoa, that they would have no farther communication with her, if ſhe did not obtain the recal of that Envoy. M. *de Semonville*, appointed in theſe circumſtances Miniſter Plenipotentiary at Turin, had ſet out on his journey thither without any previous notice of it to that Court, according to the cuſtom which had conſtantly been obſerved; but he was ſtopped at Alexandria by the Governor, on the grounds of his orders not permitting him to grant paſſports to the French coming into the States of the King of Sardinia, without authority from the Government. His Majeſty, on being

being informed of the facts, had approved of the conduct of the Governor of Alexandria, had ſent him orders to refuſe the paſſports demanded by M. *de Semonville*, and had at the ſame time ſent inſtructions to his *Chargé d'Affaires* in France to repreſent to the Court there, "that M. *de Semonville*'s "reſiding at Turin would be too dangerous "for his Majeſty to accede to it; that the "diſadvantageous ſenſation which he would "produce in that country, where he would "be looked upon in a very ill light, would "expoſe him to diſagreeable ſituations, "which His Majeſty would not be able to "prevent; that he did not doubt therefore "that his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty would "allow the force of theſe reaſons, and con- "ſider them as a new proof of his deſire "to continue that harmony, which the reſi- "dence of ſuch a Miniſter might interrupt; "that although theſe circumſtances pre- "vented the reception of M. *de Semonville*, "his Sardinian Majeſty would not be the "leſs ready to receive any other Miniſter, "provided he were actuated with a ſpirit of "peace and conciliation indiſpenſable to the "maintenance of harmony."

Such was in ſubſtance the official note communi-

communicated to the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs by M. *de Porta*, Chargé d'Affaires from the Court of Turin at Paris. *Dumourier*'s anſwer to it was as follows:

"The Court of Turin has violated the "law of nations, and the reſpect due to "the Miniſter Plenipotentiary of a great "nation, by ſtopping him at Alexandria, "and preventing his diſcharging a peace-"able and friendly embaſſy. To obviate "all obſtacles to the reſtoration of harmony "between the King of the French and the "King of Sardinia, it is neceſſary that all "impediment to M. *de Semonville*'s pro-"ceeding through Alexandria ſhould be "removed, and that he ſhould be received "at the Court of Turin in his public cha-"racter.

"If there are any particular complaints "againſt M. *de Semonville*, his Sardinian "Majeſty will have the goodneſs, after hav-"ing received M. *de Semonville* in his public "character, to order his Miniſter to ſtate "them, together with the proofs, and in "that caſe, on the proofs being fully eſta-"liſhed, the King of the French will give "his Sardinian Majeſty ſatisfaction, by "recalling M. *de Semonville*, and appoint-

" ing a Miniſter to ſucceed him. In caſe " of refuſal, the King has ordered M. *de* " *la Lande*, the preſent *Chargé des Affaires* " of France at Turin, to leave that place " in twenty-four hours, to join M. *de* " *Semonville* at Alexandria, and retire with " him to Genoa."

Dumourier wrote a letter at the ſame time to M. *de la Lande*, in which he vented the moſt patriotic rage on the pretended inſult given by the Court of Turin *to the great nation in the perſon of its Miniſter Plenipotentiary, on the futile pretext of not having received any notice of the choice of the perſon employed on this embaſſy previous to his arrival, as if the intereſts of nations were to be ſubjected to the frivolous etiquettes of Courts.* He in conſequence directed M. *de la Lande* to demand, 1ſt, that the orders given to the Governor of Alexandria to prevent M. *de Semonville* from proceeding to Turin, ſhould be immediately countermanded; 2dly, a direct and categorical anſwer in twenty-four hours; and 3dly, to be furniſhed with proper paſſports to go and meet M. *de Semonville* at Alexandria, to bring him to Turin, and to preſent him to the King and the Court. " If the Mi-

" niſter,"

"niſter," added *Dumourier*, "refuſes "your demands, you will diſpatch a cou- "rier to M. *de Semonville* to inform him "of it; you will join him at Alexandria, "and go with him to Genoa, where you "will receive the King's orders."

The reading of theſe different papers was attended with the greateſt applauſe, and produced the livelieſt tranſports of joy in the Aſſembly. This was the moment choſen by the reporter of the Diplomatic and Financial Committees for propoſing to fix the ſum for the extraordinary and ſecret expences of the Foreign Department at ſix millions. "The neceſſity," ſaid he, "for our know- "ing the real diſpoſitions of foreign Courts, "and being informed opportunely of the "events that are taking place, and of the "projects directed againſt us, compel us "to accede to the King's demand. You "are ſenſible that it is impoſſible for us to "ſpeak openly of the motives and objects "of thoſe expences, which by their nature "are ſecret. To make public the employ- "ment of theſe funds, would be to render "them fruitleſs." The opinion of the Committee was received with much applauſe, and the queſtion called for imme-

diately from every part of the Hall. There were, however, ſome ſpeakers of the Jacobin faction who ſtrongly remonſtrated againſt ſuch haſte, and even moved the previous queſtion to get rid of the opinion of the Committees, as conſenting to adopt a meaſure the moſt dangerous to liberty, the Revolution, &c.; but after a ſhort debate, it was decreed by a great majority of the Aſſembly, that the extraordinary bank ſhould hold the ſum of ſix millions ready at the diſpoſal of the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, for the ſecret buſineſs of his department.

The pains which *Dumourier* had taken to obtain this fund, created a ſuppoſition that he had in view ſome operation of great importance; but his making ſcarcely any uſe of the money, proved that he demanded it more through caution, than for any premeditated deſign. He aſſigned a ſmall portion of it to the diſpoſal of the other Miniſters, and on the ſame day joined with them in a letter to the Aſſembly, announcing *that they depoſed on the altar of the country* the tribute of a fifth of their emoluments while the war laſted. This patriotic gift made amends a little for the ridiculous ſmallneſs

of

of others which had been mentioned on the ſame day to the Aſſembly, who received them all equally honourably, however miſerable they were; and there were very few worth the time loſt in applauding them*. They loſt ſtill more in receiving deputations and hearing harangues from citizens, male and female, of all the ſections, of the different battalions of National Guards, of the workmen of the Fauxbourgs, and of thoſe everlaſting conquerors of the Baſtile, who, ever inflamed with the moſt ardent zeal for the Rights of Man, and the defence of the Aſſembly, were perpetually having new pikes made of all ſizes and forms and never failed going to preſent them to the Legiſlative Body. "We "have had theſe pikes forged, in order to "defend you," ſaid they, "and to place "ourſelves between traitors and you, if in "their deſpair their fury ſhould lead them "to the greateſt of all crimes †."

The

* In the Sitting of the 26th of April, offerings of ſix livres, of twenty-four ſols, and even of fifteen ſols, obtained not only applauſes, but honourable mention in the Minutes, and the honours of the Sitting were granted to a child who came and preſented two ſix-livre pieces.

† Among the pikes preſented at the Sitting of the 29th of April, were pikes of different kinds of orna-

The price of theſe pikes was certainly not very great, as the deareſt did not coſt half a crown, but ſo great a number was required to arm the populace of all the towns and boroughs in the kingdom, and new ones were ſo often wanted, that in an exact account of the Revolutionary expences, this article alone including the ſuperfluous expenditure, would amount to ſeveral millions. But there is no ſuch account, nor is to be expected that it will ever be made, as it muſt unmaſk too many villains, and reveal a number of infamous actions and crimes. The ſums total may be collected, but the ſeparate articles will never be known*.

The Campaign was now opened conform-

ment, they were crowned with laurel, or trefoil, ſpits, hearts, ſerpent's tongues, prongs, ſpurs, &c. &c. See the Moniteur of April 30th, page 499.

* It will be known, for inſtance, that from the month of July, 1789, to the end of the year 1791, the Revolutionary expences of the Municipality of Paris, amounted to 37 millions, 400,000 livres; reſpecting which they applied to the Aſſembly to place 35,000,500 livres on the footing of the National debt, and to aſſiſt them with 190,000 livres to diſcharge the arrears of annual payments due from them. See the Petition of the Municipality, read by *Petion* in the Aſſembly, in the Sitting of the 30th of April.

ably

ably to the plan determined upon by the Miniſtry, and its commencement promiſed any thing but ſucceſs. A vanguard of about ten thouſand men commanded by Lieutenant-general *de Biron*, (lately the Duke), was to appear before Mons to ſound the diſpoſition of the Auſtrian ſoldiers and of the inhabitants of the country, and if they were favourable to march rapidly to Bruſſels. A corps of ten ſquadron of horſe, commanded by M. *Theobald Dillon*, Field-marſhal, had orders to march at the ſame time to Tournay, while a detachment of 1200 men, commanded by M. *D'Elbeck* marched to Furnes. Valenciennes was appointed the place for aſſembling the troops which were to be drawn from the garriſons, by Mareſchal *de Rochambeau*, to ſecond General *Biron's* army.

Mareſchal *Luckner* had orders to make himſelf maſter of the defiles of Porentrui with his right wing, and with his left to form a camp of 8000 men on the banks of the Sarre, commanded by General *Kellerman*, to hold Luxembourg in check, and prevent the Auſtrians from ſending re-inforcements from that quarter to the Low Countries.

M. *de la Fayette* was to aſſemble a body

of 6000 men at Longwy, to march to Arlow in order to threaten Luxembourg, and cut off the communication between Namur and that town. He had orders to aſſemble at the ſame time the reſt of the army, and march as ſoon as poſſible to Givel, whence he was to ſet out on the 1ſt or 2d of May to attack Namur, and if he ſucceeded, to take an advantageous poſition on the Meuſe.

By thus immediately attacking the Provinces, where the people appeared the moſt diſpoſed to inſurrection, the ſeat of war might be removed in a fortnight to the diſtance of ſixty leagues from the frontiers. The points of attack were not far off, and retreat eaſy in caſe of defeat. On the contrary, in caſe of ſucceſs, all the ſubſiſtance neceſſary for the army would be obtained in the enemy's country. Such were the calculations of *Dumourier* on the plan for the Campaign, which he propoſed to the Council, and prevailed upon them to adopt. Mareſchal *de Rochambeau*, far from concurring in their opinion, perſiſted in requiring time to exerciſe the troops of the line and National Guards under his command, in fortified camps, or on the defenſive, and to train them to a buſineſs with which they were not yet acquainted. He thought it moſt

moſt prudent to wait a favourable opportunity to ſtrike a home blow, than to be in a hurry to make any kind of an attack, without a certainty of being able to ſupport it: but this prudent advice was not liſtened to, and at the very opening of the Campaign a complete miſunderſtanding prevailed between the Miniſters and the General, who from his experience, talents, and victories, had been called upon to direct all the military operations. Let us ſee the conſequence of this.

On the 28th of April in the evening, *Dillon* left Liſle with his detachment to go to Tournay, and met the enemy at three leagues from the town. At the very firſt diſcharge of muſketry, cries of, *we are cut off! we are betrayed!* repeated in the detachment of the French troops, inſtantly threw them into the greateſt diſorder, and forced *Dillon* to give the order for falling back. The firſt column prepared to execute it, but the ſecond yielding to a moſt violent panic, rendered the diſorder general, and theſe flying troops being cloſely purſued by the Auſtrians, till they came within ſight of Liſle, had about 300 men killed and wounded, and loſt the half of their horſes. In approaching the town the

the greateſt villains among theſe cowards, ſtill crying, *treachery*, accuſed their officers, and principally their general. Theſe cries, which the reſt of the troops repeated mechanically, or from the deſire of deceiving themſelves reſpecting their diſgrace, were ſoon ſucceeded by ſhouts of inſurrection, and of vengeance upon the officers. *Dillon*, after attempting in vain to reaſon with thoſe wild beaſts, took refuge in a barn to avoid their fury, but he was followed thither, maſſacred, and cut to pieces. Two officers met the ſame fate, the others were fortunate enough to eſcape from the murderers. Theſe cannibals then turned their rage againſt ſix unfortunate Tyrolian Rangers, whom they had made priſoners, nor was it ſatiated, till they had hanged them all.

On the ſame day, M. *de Biron* marched towards Mons at the head of 10,000 men in three columns. He took without reſiſtance ſome villages, which had been left to the defence of ſome ſmall detachments which retreated as he approached, and he took a poſition in the front of Bouſſa, and there waited for news from the troops ſent againſt Tournay, and the reſult of the diſpoſition of the town of Mons, where he believed he had

ſure

ſure intelligence. At five o'clock in the afternoon he attempted to advance, but was ſtopped between Quareguan and Gemappe, by a corps of Rangers, which he could not diſlodge from the village of Quareguan. He tried alſo to turn the left of the enemy, but perceiving the cavalry that had been ſtationed on that flank, he confined himſelf to ſome manœuvring, and inſenſibly drew off towards the wood of Bouſſa. He then learned by a letter from Mareſchal *de Rochambeau* the defeat of the troops ſent againſt Tournay. He would have retreated immediately, but his ſoldiers exhauſted with fatigue and hunger, were not in a ſtate to march: he determined therefore to allow them ſome hours for reſt, and to ſeek the means of procuring them ſome nouriſhment, for they had all been ſo oppreſſed with the heat, that it had been impoſſible to prevent their throwing down their bread. At ten o'clock at night, two regiments of dragoons mounted their horſes and rode off precipitately to the left of the camp, where they formed in battalion, and ſoon after in a column. M. *de Biron* haſtened to them to learn what had occaſioned ſo extraordinary a motion, but inſtead of being attended to, he

he was carried away by this column which he was endeavouring to ſtop, while the men continued on a round trot, crying, *we are betrayed.* He had rode above a league with them before he ſucceeded in regaining his command, when he led them all back to the camp, except 40 dragoons, who continued flying towards Valenciennes, where they arrived ſtill crying that they had been betrayed, that M. *de Biron* had left them, and deſerted to Mons. On the 30th at day break he began his retreat, and led the army back to its old camp at Quievrechain, but it could not maintain itſelf there, and returned the ſame day to Valenciennes. The camp and equipments were pillaged by the Hullans, and all the effects for encamping were loſt. M. *de Biron*, in giving an account of theſe misfortunes to the Miniſter, obſerved that contrary to his expectation, he had found the inhabitants of the country moſt unfavourable, that not a ſingle patriot had given him the leaſt information, that none had joined him, and that the deſertions he had anticipated, had not produced a ſingle man.

Mareſchal *Luckner* gave information at the ſame time that M. *de Cuſtines* had delayed executing the orders he had received to attack

attack the defiles of Porentrui, on pretence of requiring 50 thouſand muſkets to arm the inhabitants, and that he had again given him the ſame orders, rendering him reſponſible if they were not executed.

M. *de la Fayette*, conformable to the new inſtructions of the Council, which he received on the 24th of April by *Dumourier*'s Aid-de-camp, ſet out on the 26th with his army for Givel, where it was his orders to arrive on the 30th. He had no leſs than 56 leagues to go over in the ſpace of five days, in exceſſive hot weather, and by a road which was bad in many places, and throughout which there had been no time allowed to prepare for the paſſage of ſo large an army. It was alſo neceſſary to find the means of conveying with the ſame rapidity a train of artillery, conſiſting of 38 pieces of cannon. All theſe difficulties were overcome by M. *de la Fayette*'s zeal, powerfully ſupported by the ardour and confidence with which he had inſpired his ſoldiers, and by M. *de Narbonne*'s activity. On the 30th the whole army was at Givel. It is true that when they got there, they obtained no other advantage than that of beating back ſome of the enemy's patrols, of killing two or three

Auſtrian

Auſtrian Huſſars, and making four more priſoners; but at leaſt they did not diſgrace themſelves by mutinous acts, or cowardice.

On the 1ſt of May, the Miniſter of War gave the Legiſlative Body an account of the diſpatches which brought the news of the ſhameful defeat of the troops marched againſt Tournay, and of the horrid crimes which had been the conſequence of it. The impreſſion made on the Aſſembly by the recital of the maſſacre of General *Dillon*, and the hanging of the Tyrolean priſoners, appeared at different times by a general ſhuddering of indignation and horror. Too much agitated to take it into conſideration, they referred the papers to their Diplomatic and Military Committees, and broke up the Sitting.

Next day the Revolutionary journaliſts exerted their utmoſt in commentaries, falſities, and calumnies, to juſtify, or, at leaſt, extenuate thoſe aſſaſſinations. One of the moſt moderate of thoſe writers* aſſerted poſitively, *that M. Dillon was either a traitor, an ignorant man, or a coward,*

* The Moniteur.

and,

and, in his opinion, there could be no doubt which of the three he was. As to the ſix Tyrolean ſoldiers, *it was ſtill uncertain*, according to him, *whether they were really priſoners, or, as affirmed by ſome letters, ſpies who had undertaken to be guides to our troops, and drawn them into a ſnare.* The Jacobins carried their aſſurance ſtill farther; five of them appeared at the bar of the Aſſembly as petitioners: their ſpeaker ſaid that he was come to offer ſome obſervations on which, perhaps, depended, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, the ſafety of the country, and the preſervation of liberty. "Three hundred of our brethren have "periſhed," added he; "they have had "the fate of the Spartans at Thermopylæ. "The public voice, always more certain "than Miniſterial voices, compels you to "believe that they have been victims of "treaſon." At theſe words there was a cry from many parts of the Hall of *Turn out thoſe ſcoundrels—turn them out!* This cry increaſed more and more, till the five perſons who had got admiſſion to the bar, at length determined to withdraw, notwithſtanding the protection and encouragement of three of the deputies, who were their fellow-

fellow-members of the Jacobin Club*. They had placed themſelves by them, and perſiſted in demanding to be heard to obtain a hearing for the petitioners; but the Aſſembly, exaſperated, refuſed poſitively to hear them, and paſſed to the order of the day. Some Members moved, that one of them ſhould be called to order, and alſo all who, like him, ſhould attempt to miſlead.

One of the moſt eſtimable Members of this Aſſembly (*Beugnot*) finding them in a favourable diſpoſition, ſeized that opportunity to denounce to them the atrocious inſtigators of the horrors at which they had been ſo juſtly ſhocked. "You will ſhudder "much more," ſaid he, "when you know "that at this very moment, at the doors of "this Hall, a ſanguinary mandate is diſ- "tributed to the people, calling upon them "to maſſacre all your generals. I have the "proof of this in my hand. It is a libel, "ſigned *Marat*, and entitled the Friend of "the People. The advice he gives to the "ſoldiers runs thus: *It is more than ſix "months ſince I foretold that your generals,*

* *Albite*, *Le Cointre*, and *Thuriot*.

"*all*

" *all good humble ſervants of the Court,*
" *would betray the nation; that they would*
" *give up the frontiers. My hope is, that*
" *the army will open their eyes, and be*
" *ſenſible that the firſt thing they have*
" *to do is to maſſacre thoſe generals*.*
" While crime thus erects its head, while
" the minds of the people are daily poiſoned
" with the moſt ferocious maxims, while
" here under your eyes, on the terrace of
" the Thuilleries, the principles of regicide
" are openly profeſſed, how can order and
" confidence be reſtored? What has hap-
" pened at Liſle is only the putting in
" practice this execrable theory, which we
" ought to be aſhamed of not ſooner ſup-
" preſſing. It is the journals of *Marat*,
" *Carra*, and others; yes, it is theſe furi-
" ous ſcribblers that, in their delirium,
" have incited all theſe crimes. If you
" wiſh to know the moſt determined ene-
" mies of the country, theſe are the per-
" ſons, theſe pretended friends of the peo-
" ple, who preach maxims, who diſtribute

* In the preceding Number, the ſame Journaliſt called upon the people *to carry fire and ſword among the gangrened majority of the Repreſentatives of the nation.*

" the moſt ſhocking writings to provoke
" the ſhedding of blood. How will you
" have an army, how will you have a
" Government, while writers, who dare
" to call themſelves patriots, devote the
" generals to death, the King to the con-
" tempt and inſults of the people, and the
" Repreſentatives of the nation to their
" wrath? while many of us are inſulted
" with impunity at the doors of this Hall?
" It is time to know whether this diſorder
" is to have an end, and which of the two
" authorities is to give way, that which is
" eſtabliſhed to protect us, or that which is
" deſtroying us. The intereſt of the army,
" the intereſt of the public, requires a ſevere
" example. I move that the Miniſter of
" Juſtice be ſent for while we are ſitting,
" and that he be enjoined to order the public
" accuſers to proſecute the authors and diſ-
" tributors of writings which incite to diſ-
" obedience of the laws, and to violences
" and unlawful acts againſt public func-
" tionaries."

This ſpeech was applauded throughout by a great majority of the Aſſembly, and the murmurs that were attempted in the *Coté-gauche* by ſome ferocious men, worthy partizans

partizans of the infamous *Marat*, were hooted. They revenged themſelves by denouncing in their turn, the Journal entitled, "The Friend of the King*," *as inciting the deſertion of the troops, and as tending to degrade the Conſtituted Authorities, by a ſyſtem in reality connected with that of the "Friend of the People," though contrary to it in appearance.* This denunciation, warmly ſupported by all the Jacobin party, brought on a debate, which terminated with two decrees of impeachment, almoſt unanimouſly paſſed, one againſt *Marat*, and the other againſt *Royou*.

The opening of this campaign was little calculated to inſpire confidence in *Dumourier*'s abilities, and would have thrown him into a very critical poſition, had his reputation for Jacobiniſm been leſs firmly eſtabliſhed. With what advantage would the Revolutionary writers and ſpeakers have denounced, on ſuſpicion of treaſon, any other Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, who, inſtead of confining himſelf to the buſineſs of his own Department, ſhould have taken upon him that of the War Miniſter, for the pur-

* Edited by *Royou*.

poſe of rejecting the plans of a General, as eminent for his patriotiſm as for his talents, and ſubſtituting others, the extravagance of which had been demonſtrated by the attempt to execute them, and in which ſuch commentators as *Marat* would have eaſily found complete proofs of *liberticide* machinations, perfidy, high treaſon, &c. How would ſuch a denunciation have been ſupported by the complaints of M. *de Rochambeau* on the opening of the campaign a fortnight ſooner than had been ſettled, on the difference between the inſtructions given on the 17th of April, and thoſe he had received on the 22d of the ſame month, *on the hurry and incongruity* of meaſures for the execution of which he had received the moſt poſitive orders. "I keep," ſaid he*, "a minute of "the Miniſterial letters, each more urgent "than the other; thoſe particularly of the "Miniſter for Foreign Affairs. They will "prove that my repreſentations have not "been attended to, and that though I have "informed the Miniſtry that I ſaw no diſ-"poſition in the foreign troops to come "over to us, they preferred giving credit to

* In his firſt letter to the King, dated April 29th.

"the

" the letters which have been written to
" them. M. *de Biron* has not yet ſeen an
" Emigrant or Brabant deſerter, notwith-
" ſtanding he has been two days within
" ſight of the people. I can only ſay, Sire,
" after all theſe ſucceſsleſs meaſures, that
" if your Miniſters, and particularly the
" Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, intend to
" move all the pieces of the cheſs-board,
" and that I am to be merely a paſſive
" player, oppoſed, and forced, juſt as they
" direct, to make the moves of a game,
" the conduct of which your Majeſty en-
" truſted to me, I beſeech your Majeſty to
" accept my reſignation, and permit me to
" attend to the care of my health, and to
" remain in the neighbourhood of this town,
" whence I may haſten, the moment any
" fortified place is menaced, to throw
" myſelf into it, and defend it to the laſt
" drop of my blood againſt the enemies of
" the State."

Another letter from the ſame General contained the following paſſage: " I have never
" ſeen any thing like what I ſee, and I hope
" your Majeſty will diſpenſe with my ſeeing
" it much longer. All theſe ſcenes will
" deſtroy confidence: there is nothing talk-

" ed of but treachery. As for diſcipline,
" it is out of the queſtion at this criſis. In
" truth, the army have had much to ſuffer;
" but I muſt leave to M. *de Biron* the re-
" cital of theſe unfortunate particulars.
" Sire, by this infernal plot I have loſt the
" confidence of the army. Your Majeſty
" knows whether I merit to loſe it or not.
" It is the ſame caſe with all the Generals
" here."

Had theſe letters been known to the Aſſembly at the time they were informed of the diſaſters of the 28th of April, it would have been in vain for *Dumourier* to have oppoſed his patriotiſm and his popularity againſt the general cenſure he muſt have incurred. His own reſponſibility had been ſufficiently committed to ground a decree of impeachment, and it is more than probable that he would not have eſcaped it; but he had the prudence to abſtract himſelf from every kind of notice for three or four days, which he employed ſucceſsfully in animating the zeal of his partizans, and in increaſing their number, in ſhort, in ſecuring a majority. In this interval news arrived that a detachment, under M. *de Cuſtines*, had made themſelves maſters of the defiles of *Porentrui*,

trui, and that in the Low Countries the Auſtrians had abandoned Furnes on the approach of the French troops, who had entered it without ſtriking a blow. *Dumourier* ſeized this moment to go to the Aſſembly and explain the plan for the campaign, of which I have already given an account. He made the moſt, with much addreſs, of the different motives which had induced the Miniſters to adopt it, and eſpecially a letter which Mareſchal *Luckner* had written to him, and in which that General ſtrongly inſiſted *on the neceſſity of quitting the defenſive part, which is as ruinous*, ſaid he, *as ill ſuited to the character of the French, and the real intereſts of the nation.*

After thus ſhielding his reſponſibility under that of Mareſchal *Luckner*'s, *Dumourier* read the two letters which Mareſchal *de Rochambeau* had written to the King, and took no pains to refute them, although the ſentences in which that General had cenſured the Miniſters had received ſome applauſe. Mareſchal *Luckner*'s letter was ſtill more applauded, and that anſwered for all. So much did *Dumourier* depend upon it, that he informed the Aſſembly that the King had thought proper to comply with

M. *de Rochambeau*'s requeſt, by granting him an unlimited leave to take care of his health. "Mareſchal *Luckner*," added he, "is to ſucceed him, and we ſhall ſoon "judge of all the advantages we muſt "derive from his activity and ſuperior "talents." This intelligence created ſome murmurs, but they were loſt in much greater applauſe. It was the ſame with the paſſage of the Miniſter's ſpeech relative to the diſaſters at Tournay. He ſpoke of them as what was expected by the Council, and from which much advantage would be derived. "I will not repeat to you," ſaid he, "the particulars of the misfortunes which "attended the execution of this plan *ſolely* "*in the army of the North*; they are pain-"ful no doubt, but cannot diſcourage four "millions of free men armed for the defence "of their country. The Council were "aware of the inſubordination produced "in the army by the diſtruſt of the ſol-"diers, and the want of experience in the "new officers; but they depended on the "courage of the French, which ſhould "conquer every obſtacle. Crimes have "been committed, the puniſhment of which "will ſerve as an example: it is thus we

"will

" will turn our reverſes to advantage. If " we are compelled to abandon a rapid " plan, we hope that the methodical plan " that we ſhall ſubſtitute will retard our " ſucceſſes but a ſhort time. Among a free " people, conſtancy ſhould be the firſt of " virtues."

Theſe hopes, theſe promiſes, or rather theſe vauntings, ſecured *Dumourier's* triumph in this Sitting. He retired amidſt the plaudits of the galleries and of the greater part of the Aſſembly. But he was ſcarcely out of the Hall, when ſeveral officers of different ranks, Members of the Legiſlative Body, warmly undertook the defence of Mareſchal *de Rochambeau*, extolled his important ſervices, and ſpoke of his retiring as an irreparable misfortune to the country. They moved in conſequence that a meſſage ſhould be ſent to the King, to beg that he would refuſe the General's reſignation. Others, with equal force, expoſed the fatal extravagance of the plan of the campaign, which the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs had detailed in the memorial of his juſtification, and moved that it ſhould be ſubmitted to the examination of the United Committees, who ſhould make a report upon it as expeditiouſly

ouſly as poſſible, as well as of all the orders diſpatched by the Miniſter, and of the letters he had read, of which he ſhould be required to give in copies. It was even propoſed that he ſhould be ſent for while they were ſitting, to make him give in thoſe papers. All theſe motions were oppoſed with violent murmurs by the friends of *Dumourier*; and, after a conſiderable tumult, the Aſſembly only ordered that the Miniſter ſhould be required to give in the papers he had read in that Sitting in the courſe of the day. They alſo decreed on the ſubject of the aſſaſſination of the Tyrolian Rangers, that priſoners of war were under the ſafeguard and protection of the nation, and that all acts of rigour, violence, and inſult committed againſt them ſhould be puniſhed in the ſame manner as if thoſe exceſſes had been committed againſt a French Citizen, &c.

Mareſchal *de Rochambeau*, ſeeing in the public papers the account which *Dumourier* had given to the Aſſembly, immediately wrote to the Preſident, remonſtrating moſt ſtrongly againſt ſome inaccurate aſſertions hazarded by the Miniſter; againſt the reſervations he had been guilty of, and eſpecially

cially his ſilence reſpecting the third letter which he (M. *de Rochambeau*) had written to his Majeſty, *and which was the more important, as he mentioned in it the plan for the campaign which he had himſelf formed, and the direct contrary of which had been adopted* *.

This letter was read in the Sitting of the 9th of May to the Aſſembly, on whom it made no impreſſion: but the beſt officers of the army, hurt at the diſguſting treatment M. *de Rochambeau* had experienced, refuſed to act as commanders, and requeſted to ſerve as ſimple volunteers. On this point, M. *de Biron*, in a letter addreſſed to the Miniſter of War, which was communicated to the Aſſembly, expreſſed himſelf in the following manner:

"My honour compels me to declare to "you poſitively that the army of the North "muſt be conſidered as loſt if the Mareſchal "*de Rochambeau* quits it; that a very "great number of diſtinguiſhed officers, "whoſe ſervices are the moſt uſeful, are "firmly determined to leave the army, and

* See Mareſchal *de Rochambeau*'s letter to the Aſſembly: Appendix, No. XX.

"that

" that it will then be in ſuch a ſtate that it " may be regarded as deſtroyed ſhould it be " attacked. I can ſeek my death in it as a " ſoldier, but I, leſs than any other, can " take upon me the imprudent reſponſibility " of the intervening command, during " which the moſt diſaſtrous events muſt take " place, &c."

Some Bodies of Adminiſtration alſo took part in this diſpute, and openly attacked the Miniſters. The manner of this may be ſeen by a letter from the Adminiſtrators of the Department of l'Aiſne to the Aſſembly, and which was publiſhed in all the papers. I ſhall only cite ſome of the firſt ſentences:

" Legiſlators! it is time that you ſhould " keep your eyes on the preſent Miniſtry. " Having no rights to our confidence, we " know of none they have to our eſteem. " It is to their projects, their want of fore- " ſight, their diſregard of an experienced " general, that we owe our firſt misfor- " tunes. They told you that all ſorts of " proviſions for our armies had been made " for more than three months; and now " General *La Fayette* ſends an Aid-de-camp

" to

" to us to ſolicit aſſiſtance of every kind,
" &c."

The Aſſembly, ſtill fully depending on *Dumourier*'s promiſes, heard with indifference theſe two letters read, and paſſed to the order of the day. But the public were not generally of their opinion, and the pamphlets that had the moſt rapid ſale, were thoſe in which the conduct of the Miniſters was the moſt ſeverely handled.

M. *de Grave*, who from his ill health was unable any longer to ſupport the weight of the War Department, and who perhaps was alſo diſguſted with the inſignificant part to which *Dumourier* had reduced him, choſe this moment to give in his reſignation, and obtained permiſſion of the Aſſembly to repair to the Army, and be employed as a Field Mareſchal. M. *Servan* who was appointed to ſucceed him went the next day to the Aſſembly to announce the arrival of Mareſchal *Luckner*. " This patriotic general," ſaid he, " glowing with the ardent deſire of
" defending the country wherever attacked,
" has not ſcrupled to quit for a ſhort time a
" well diſciplined army by whom he is
" adored, and Departments whoſe full con-
" fidence he poſſeſſes, to fly where the King

" and

" and dangers call him. But he has repre-
" ſented that there is a meaſure more impor-
" tant than his taking the command of the
" army of Flanders, which is, to ſend him
" to Valenciennes, to reſtore order, to uſe all
" his efforts to prevail if poſſible on Mareſ-
" chal *de Rochambeau* to keep the com-
" mand of the army, to perſuade the other
" officers to continue at their poſts, in a word,
" to re-eſtabliſh between the commanders
" and the ſoldiers, that mutual confidence
" which is the chief ſtrength of armies.
" He has aſked to ſerve as Mareſchal *de Ro-*
" *chambeau*'s Aid-de-camp, and when har-
" mony is perfectly eſtabliſhed, he will re-
" ſume the command of his army, who
" have given ſo many proofs of patriotiſm
" by their ſubordination and confidence in
" their General. The King's Miniſters
" have adopted this great and generous pro-
" poſal, which they have the more readily
" embraced, as it offers a happy opportunity
" of proving how ſuperior they were to all
" perſonality, of ſhowing that they are ani-
" mated only with the deſire of ſecuring the
" public welfare, and of throwing aſide all
" private conſiderations when the general
" good is the queſtion; and they have no
" doubt

" doubt that the general good depends on " the union of thoſe who have the power to " ſerve their Country."

This meaſure, the beſt calculated to confirm the credit of the Miniſters, which the outſet of the campaign had ſhaken, was at the ſame time the only one that could put an end to the diviſion exiſting not only in the Aſſembly, but throughout Paris, where the *Rochambeau* party, and the *Dumourier* party already appeared in a very marked manner: of courſe the ſpeech of the new War Miniſter was warmly applauded at every ſentence. I have given the chief parts of it, becauſe, as I did not perſonally know this Revolutionary Miniſter, I have no other means of drawing his character, than his ſpeeches and oſtenſible conduct.

At this period *Buob*, the Juſtice of the Peace, whoſe zeal and vigilance were never deficient, alarmed at the daily progreſs of the Jacobins, and inceſſantly watching all their manœuvres, to endeavour to overturn them, informed me that they had received at their laſt Sitting a petition, complaining of the proſecutions going on againſt the murderers of *Simoneau*, the Mayor of Etampes, who was maſſacred, as we have ſeen,

ſeen, while he was performing his duty; and that they had referred this petition to commiſſioners, to examine it and make a report upon it*. As it was of the utmoſt conſequence to thoſe villains to enſure impunity to inſurrections, aſſaſſinations, and all crimes that increaſed and confirmed their power, it was extremely important to throw every poſſible obſtacle in the way of their manœuvres tending to that purpoſe; and ſuch clearly was the petition relative to the trial at Etampes. *Buob* thought that the beſt way of preventing the Jacobins from daring to come to any determination upon it, was to revive in a powerful manner, by a civic feſtival in honour of *Simoneau*, the ſentiments of indignation and horror which the murder of that worthy man had excited. He had prepared his plan, and did not even aſk for money to execute it, as he had no doubt of a ſubſcription equal to the whole expence of it.

I mentioned this propoſal to the King, who approved of it, and ſuggeſted an ex-

* This fact was denounced to the Aſſembly by one of their Members (M. *Vaublan)* in the Sitting of the 9th of May.

cellent

cellent method of making the beſt advantage of this ſtep. "This feſtival," ſaid his Majeſty, "is a very good thought, particularly if the Sections or the Municipality "could be led to give it; it would be much "more ſtriking, and produce a greater effect." *Buob* undertook to get the motion made in the Sections, and at the Council of the Commune, by confidential perſons, who ſhould propoſe it as the wiſh of all good citizens, and remove all objections as to economy, by declaring that there were ſeveral ſubſcriptions already entered into for paying the expences. There appeared, in fact, a ſum of ten thouſand livres, which the King had authorized me to give, and which was divided into above two hundred contributions, under real or ſuppoſed names, that it might not be ſuſpected to have been furniſhed by the Civil Liſt.

The feſtival was voted by the Sections and by the Commune in ſpite of all the manœuvres practiſed by the Jacobins, to prevent it; and the Municipality opened a voluntary ſubſcription to defray the expences of it. That nothing might be wanting to the ſolemnity of it, it was requiſite that the Aſſembly ſhould attend all together, or by

a deputation, and that the feſtival ſhould be given in the *Champ-de-Mars*, which it was ſaid could not be done without the permiſſion of the Legiſlative Body. To obtain both theſe points, a petition with 836 ſignatures was preſented to the Aſſembly by a deputation of ſome of the principal perſons who had ſigned it. As ſoon as their ſpeaker had concluded his introductory addreſs, the petition was propoſed in a motion, decreed, and referred to the Committee of Public Inſtruction, to make a report on the mode of carrying it into execution. Some Members of the *Coté-gauche* attempted in vain to remonſtrate againſt this decree; the Aſſembly would not hear them. They renewed their remonſtrances with greater violence, and with as little ſucceſs, when the Committee of Public Inſtruction made their report. All that they could obtain was, that the expences of this feſtival, which, according to the decree, were to be borne by the public treaſury, ſhould be fixed at 6,000 livres. There aroſe no difficulty on this point, as it was known that the voluntary ſubſcriptions were ſufficient to make the feſtival as brilliant as could be wiſhed. It was decreed that it ſhould take place on the 1ſt of June; that

that the Aſſembly ſhould attend it by a deputation of ſeventy-two Members, and that the Mayor of Etampes' ſcarf ſhould be hung up on the cieling of the Pantheon.

This feſtival was not given till the 3d of June. Nothing was neglected to render it as intereſting as ſolemn, and at the ſame time as uſeful as poſſible to the end that had been propoſed. The inſcriptions and hymns were compoſed in the beſt ſtyle; and ſeveral pamphlets, which were profuſely diſtributed, devoted to public execration the plots and crimes of the factious. But all theſe little reſources, the effects of which laſted but a moment, were very feeble means againſt villains whom the ſword of Juſtice ſhould have ſtruck, and whom it would have ſtruck, had it not been broken by the Revolution.

CHAPTER XVI.

Manœuvres for the total Diſorganization of the Army—The Failure of the Campaign charged to the pretended Auſtrian Committee—Artful Attempts to prove the Exiſtence of ſuch a Committee—M. de Montmorin and M. Bertrand denounced by Carra as Members of it.—Iſnard's Speech in the Aſſembly—His infamous Motion for examining the King rejected—Carra, Merlin, Bazire, and Chabot proſecuted for Slander by M. de Montmorin and M. Bertrand—Zeal of the Judge Lariviere—Progreſs of the Proceedings before him—Conduct of the Aſſembly

ſembly on the Occaſion—Lariviere denounced for iſſuing his Warrant againſt the Deputies—The King orders the Public Accuſer to proſecute the Propagators of the Report of an Auſtrian Committee—A Decree of Impeachment againſt Lariviere—Genſonné and Briſſot undertake to prove the Exiſtence of the Auſtrian Committee—Their Speeches on the Subject—The Impoſture becomes ridiculous, and is dropped.

THE army was not yet ſufficiently diſorganized, ſufficiently Revolutionary to ſatisfy the factious. It was not enough for them that the ſoldiers, by their want of ſubordination, by their inſults and threats, had forced a great many of the officers to quit the ſervice; they wiſhed that not one ſhould remain, and that they ſhould be all ſuperſeded by *ſoldier citizens*, or *citizen ſoldiers*, that is to ſay, by their truſty agents. It was requiſite then to make all the military commiſſions vacant, and the ſureſt means of accelerating theſe vacancies, not only by reſignations, but by death, was certainly to impute the ſhameful rout at Tournay to

treachery in the officers. If this atrocious impoſture had been admitted by the Aſſembly, there is no doubt that the aſſaſſination or reſignation of all the officers would have been the immediate conſequence. It is alſo true, that had the Auſtrians choſen this moment to attack our revolting armies, commanded by generals and officers raiſed from among the ſoldiers, the Revolution, liberty, &c. would have been in very great danger. It was, therefore, thought more prudent to wait a more favourable occaſion to finiſh clearing the army of all the officers of the old Government who remained in it. But, at the ſame time, to turn the failure of the campaign to ſome advantage for the Revolution, the Jacobins boldly charged it to *the Auſtrian Committee*. This abſurd calumny was repeated and confirmed by all the Revolutionary Journals. According to them, it was by this Committee that the Emperor had been informed of our projects, of all our plans, of the marching of our troops, of their number, diſpoſition*, &c.

* There was a long paragraph inſerted in the Moniteur of the 15th of May, attempting to demonſtrate the exiſtence of the plots of this ſuppoſed Committee.

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In a word, this ridiculous fable, originally invented to exaſperate the people againſt the Queen and the Court was more believed than ever. Nay, the moſt artful manœuvres were employed to get together a body of evidence ſufficient to eſtabliſh, even judicially, the exiſtence of ſuch a Committee. In the Committee of Inſpection, ſecret declarations and denunciations were received tending to this end, and made by perſons who ſaid they had ſituations at Court, and did not wiſh their names to be mentioned. M. *de Montmorin* and myſelf were denounced by *Carra*, in the Jacobin Club, as Members of the Auſtrian Committee; and I took the opportunity of a circumſtance that happened at this time to inſtitute a complaint againſt *Carra* and his accomplices. *Renaut St. Jean d'Angely* being invited by one *Richer de Seriſy* in the name of the Princeſs *de Lambelle* to be a Member of a Committee to be held at her houſe, became the dupe of the jeſt, and, vain of his imaginary importance, called on M. *Malouet* to confer on the ſubject, and told him he knew that M. *de Montmorin* and I were alſo Members of the Committee. Nothing was eaſier than to confute this ſlander, and I brought the

whole affair in the form of a complaint before the Criminal Tribunal, where *Carra* declared in his defence, that he had been authorized by *Merlin*, *Bazire*, and *Chabot*, to accuse M. *Montmorin* and me. These men were therefore summoned, on our united complaint, before the same Tribunal, the Judge of which, *Lariviere*, did not treat them with all the ceremony and dignity the Assembly thought due to their Members, and afterwards paid dearly for his zeal in the cause of justice *.

It was not only in the Clubs, Journals, and groups of the Palais-Royal and Thuilleries, that the pretended plots of the Austrian Committee were denounced; these atrocious falsehoods were also loudly repeated in the Assembly. "The enemies of the new sys-"tem," said *Isnard* in the Sitting of the 15th of May, "rendered sore by their mis-"carriages, rocked by hope, and emboldened by impunity, have been all labouring "for a long time at a Counter-revolution, "and from so many efforts, varied or united, "results the state in which we find our-

* For a full account of the circumstance, see Private Memoirs, Vol. II. Chap. XXIII.

"selves.

" ſelves. I believe that the hidden prop of
" this malignant party was and muſt be the
" Court. By this formidable word, I mean
" not only *Louis* XVI. but his family, his
" wife, his privy Council, and the whole
" race of courtiers and nobility, becauſe
" thoſe are the people that profit by Roy-
" alty as much as the King himſelf; now
" this Court ſeduces and miſleads him.
" He is told that it is his intereſt to manage
" all parties; to favour ſecretly ariſtocracy,
" becauſe if that triumphs, he will again
" become all-powerful; and to act appa-
" rently for the people, that if they are
" victorious he may remain in poſſeſſion of
" the Conſtitutional crown. The King
" thus deceived, applies ſome direful *veto*,
" protects ariſtocracy, and gives way to a
" *ſecret Committee*, who, without conſult-
" ing him, are inceſſantly at work to pro-
" mote the deep-laid plan of a Counter-
" revolution. Hence the war we are perhaps
" about to have with the King of Pruſſia
" and other Powers of Europe, the aſſem-
" bling of the Emigrants, and the recruit-
" ing carried on in France for their army;
" the deſertion of our officers, the inſubor-
" dination

" dination and defection of a certain num-
" ber of our ſoldiers; hence what has hap-
" pened at Mons and Tournay, the aſſaſſi-
" nations committed, &c."

Having thus expoſed *the evils and dangers* of the country, he moved, as the only means of ſaving it, the plan of a national examination of the King by the Legiſlative Body. This writing, every line of which contained an inſult to the King, more or leſs groſs, is worthy in every reſpect to figure amongſt the monſtrous productions of the Revolutionary delirium. I will not defile my pen by reporting it, even in an extract, but content myſelf with ſaying, that the Aſſembly, though they had inſolently applauded ſome of the firſt ſentences of it, not wiſhing, or not daring to hear it read through, got rid of this infamous motion, by forcing the ſpeaker by repeated murmurs to quit the tribune, and paſſed to the order of the day.

Meanwhile the Judge (*Lariviere*) attended with zeal to the criminal proceedings inſtituted by M. *de Montmorin* and me. The deputies *Merlin*, *Bazire*, and *Chabot*, depoſed in evidence that *Carra*'s aſſertion relative to the Auſtrian Committee

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was true, and confirmed by a multiplicity of notes and informations in poſſeſſion of the Committee of Inſpection. The Judge having no power to require of the witneſſes more ample declarations or explanations than they thought proper to give, and ſeeing in the depoſitions of the three deputies only vague aſſertions of pretended proofs in poſſeſſion of the Committee of Inſpection, did not well know what determination to come to on our complaint, and avowed his difficulty to me. I ſtrongly repreſented to him that this buſineſs was of too important a nature for him to give it up, without ſeriouſly committing himſelf; that he would juſtly be reproached with having neglected aſſertions, which, though vague reſpecting the nature of the proofs, were as poſitive as they could be reſpecting their exiſtence; and that the only ſtep he had to take, was to obtain the authority of the central offices of the Juſtices to go and give an account to the Aſſembly of the ſtate of the proceedings, and demand of them a decree, ordering the Committee of Inſpection with all convenient ſpeed to tranſmit to the Court of the Police all the vouchers, notes, and informations in their poſſeſſion relative to the Auſtrian Committee.

mittee. Fortunately, he ſaw no obſtacle to this; and his colleagues of the central office ſo fully approved of it, that they determined to accompany *Lariviere* to the Bar of the Aſſembly, in order that the demand might meet with fewer difficulties, by being made in their name.

This buſineſs being thus put in a train the ſureſt to accompliſh the object I propoſed, I could not but congratulate myſelf on having adviſed it; and I anticipated with delight the ſatisfaction which the King and Queen would feel at the expoſure and annihilation of an impoſture which had long given them pain, and the more ſo as their Majeſties could not deſcend to a refutation of it.

The deputation of the central office of Juſtices repaired to the Aſſembly on the 18th of May, and *Lariviere* made his demand in a manner the moſt proper to impreſs the full importance of it. It was at firſt heard with great applauſe, and formed into a motion by one of the Members of the *Coté-gauche*, who not being initiated in the myſteries of the Committee of the Jacobins, really believed, as did a great number of his

colleagues,

colleagues, the exiſtence of an Auſtrian Committee, and the reality of its plots.

The Members of the Committee of Inſpection were greatly alarmed at this motion, and oppoſed it very warmly. "This is a "ſnare," ſaid they, "intended to be laid "for the public opinion. Moſt of the "denunciations received by the Committee "of Inſpection are given by perſons at-"tached to the ſervice of the King and of "the Court, who would loſe their places, "and perhaps even their lives, were the "informations they have furniſhed divulged. "Theſe informations not being authentic, "cannot be adduced as proofs in the Courts, "nor to ground a decree of impeachment, "but they ſerve us to trace the plots which "they ſpeak of: we inform the public "that we are in poſſeſſion of them, and "that publiſhing them is the ſure way "of rendering them uſeleſs." They concluded, in conſequence, that the Aſſembly ſhould ſimply paſs to the order of the day.

One of the Members of this Committee*, who ſtill preſerved ſome principles of honeſty and juſtice, warmly proteſted againſt

* *Dumolard.*

theſe

theſe vile and odious manœuvres. "You "have appointed me one of the Committee "of Inſpection," ſaid he, "and I think "too well of my colleagues to ſuppoſe that "they wiſh to convert this Committee into "a court of inquiſition that would make "France ſhudder. Beſides, the Committee "of Inſpection have abſolutely nothing "to do with the preſent buſineſs; they "have made no denunciation; it is for "Meſſrs. *Merlin*, *Bazire*, and *Chabot*, to "ſupport before the Courts that which they "have made. Such are the principles of "juſtice and morality, I demand that they "be obſerved indiſcriminately towards all "the citizens, that the Courts be ſuffered "to proceed and render juſtice to all, and "that it be on theſe grounds, the only ones "worthy of the Aſſembly, that they decide "on paſſing to the order of the day."

This motion, generally applauded by the Members of the *Coté-droit*, cloſed the debate, and the Aſſembly paſſed to the order of the day. *Lariviere*, concluding from it that it was their intention to leave juſtice to take its courſe, iſſued, in conſequence, that very day a warrant for bringing before him *Merlin*, *Chabot*, and *Bazire*. He hoped

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in their examination to obtain the declarations they were not willing to make in their depoſition: but leſs intent on conducting the buſineſs with prudence, than on giving it the greateſt degree of ſhow, and by that means rendering the part he took in it the more remarkable, he uſed, in the execution of his warrant, forms not very reſpectful towards the Aſſembly, and very offenſive to the three deputies. He ſent for them the next day by national officers, and at five o'clock in the morning, under pretence of leaving them at liberty to go to the Aſſembly at the uſual hour of its Sittings. To this firſt inſult he added that of lying in bed himſelf till the deputies were actually arrived, and conſequently of making them wait unneceſſarily.

Merlin and *Chabot*, on their examination, proteſted againſt the validity of all proceedings relative to the Auſtrian Committee, and refuſed, as inſolently as obſtinately, to anſwer any of the queſtions put to them by the Judge. They maintained, that what they had ſaid to the Journaliſt *Carra*, was in the exerciſe of their functions as Repreſentatives of the People, and that conſequently they could not, according to the Conſtitution,

Conſtitution, be called to account, accuſed, or tried at any time, for what they had ſaid, written, or done in that character. *Bazire*, pale and trembling with fear, underwent his examination, and by his anſwers proved to demonſtration, that the pretended vouchers, notes, and informations in poſſeſſion of the Committee of Inſpection, were nothing more than bare conjectures, unſupported by any probable evidence.

Lariviere, true to the Conſtitution, conſidered his duty as performed, and wrote a letter to the Preſident of the Aſſembly, demanding to be admitted to the bar to give an account of the ſtate of the proceedings, and enable the Legiſlative Body to determine on the ſilence of two of the accuſed, and on the confeſſions of the third, whether there were grounds or not for an impeachment: but he had himſelf been denounced before his letter arrived; the three accuſed Deputies had been heard, and had complained bitterly of the rigour and indecency of the forms which the Juſtice of Peace had employed. So ſerious an outrage againſt the dignity of the National repreſentation, could not but excite the indignation and reſentment of the Aſſembly; of courſe it was inſtantly decided that he

ſhould

ſhould not be admitted to the bar, and then debated whether he ſhould be brought to it as a culprit, or ſummoned to give an account of his conduct. After a conſiderable debate it was determined that he ſhould be ſummoned. He appeared with great confidence, and juſtified his conduct in reſpect to the deputies, on the regulations of the Conſtitution and other decrees, which eſtabliſhed no difference in the manner of executing warrants for bringing perſons before a Juſtice, in favour of any one, whoever he might be, and which had not left it to the breaſts of the Juſtices to introduce forms different from thoſe that had been decreed. This reſpect paid to the equality of rights obtained him the applauſe of the galleries and of a part of the Aſſembly; but the doubts of the exiſtence of the Auſtrian Committee, which he had diſcovered in the account he gave of *Bazire*'s depoſition, provoked the majority to ſuch a degree, that he very narrowly eſcaped a decree of impeachment; and it was not till after a very violent and tumultuous debate, that the Aſſembly decreed the buſineſs ſhould be referred to the Committee of Legiſlation, to make their report upon it without delay.

Notwithſtanding this decree, without its being revoked, and although the Committee of Legiſlation had not been heard, the debate was reſumed next day at the opening of the Sitting. All the remonſtrances againſt his irregularity were drowned in the moſt indecent clamours and hootings.

In the midſt of this tumult, the Miniſter of Juſtice entered the Aſſembly, and demanded to be heard on a ſubject connected with the debate. "The King," ſaid he, "has juſt declared to me the reſolution he "has taken to proſecute the calumnies that "have been ſpread for ſome days paſt with "unbridled licentiouſneſs on the exiſtence "of a pretended Auſtrian Committee. His "Majeſty might perhaps have treated theſe "falſe rumours with contempt, had they "been confined to thoſe libels which you "have juſtly devoted to the vengeance of "the laws; but as they have made their "way into the Legiſlative Body, he fears "that gaining ground in the ſanctuary of "the laws, they may produce the effect "propoſed by them, that of diſorganizing "the army and the State: he has charged "me, therefore, to inform the Legiſlative "Body of his reſolution to proſecute the "authors

" authors of this calumny. He wiſhes " that the phantom with which impoſtors " try to alarm the people ſhould be diſ- " pelled, and that by means of a judicial " and legal trial the nation ſhould be fully " convinced of the ſincerity of his actions, " of his attachment to the Conſtitution, " and of his perſeverance in the oath he " took to defend it."

In concluding this ſpeech, the Miniſter preſented a letter from the King addreſſed to the Preſident, and conceived in theſe terms:

" I have directed the Miniſter of Juſtice " to inform you of the order he has juſt " given from me to the Public Accuſer on " the ſubject of the pretended Auſtrian Com- " mittee. I wiſh that this buſineſs ſhould " be perfectly cleared up; and I hope the " National Aſſembly will take the reſolu- " tion of communicating to the Court the " informations which ſeveral of their Mem- " bers have ſaid they have received on the " ſubject. They muſt be ſenſible of the im- " propriety of receiving ſuch denunciations, " of ſuffering only thoſe parts of them to " tranſpire that ſerve to keep up ſuſpicion in

" the public mind, and of leaving me igno-
" rant of the authors of them."

The King, greatly affected at the critical ſituation into which *Lariviere* had brought himſelf by the exceſs of his laudable but inconſiderate zeal, flattered himſelf that this ſtep would effect an advantageous diverſion for him. But, ſcarcely was his Majeſty's letter read through, when it was propoſed that it ſhould not be taken into conſideration till the diſcuſſion of the buſineſs relative to the Juſtice of the Peace was finiſhed, and the motion was carried. It would be long and tedious to give an account of this debate, in which the Conſtitution was violated as well as juſtice; for, had it even been demonſtrated that the Juſtice of Peace had exceeded his powers, ſtill the Aſſembly would have been incompetent to decide upon the affair; for, by the Conſtitutional Act, *Art.* 27, *Chap.* 5, *Tit.* 3, the excluſive cognizance of it was given to the Court of Appeal* on the denunciation of the Miniſter of Juſtice. This objection, which was repeatedly urged by ſome of the deputies of the Conſtitu-

* *Tribunal de Caſſation.*

tional

tional Party, was refuted only with ſhouts and abuſe; and, after ſix hours of the moſt violent contention, it was decreed, that poor *Lariviere* ſhould be impeached for an outrage upon the dignity of the National Repreſentation, in iſſuing a warrant to bring before him the three greateſt villains in the Aſſembly. The people, by whom the galleries were at that time filled, and who might very properly conſider themſelves as particularly repreſented by *Merlin*, *Bazire*, and *Chabot*, teſtified their approbation of this decree by loud plaudits, and ſhouts of *Vive l'Aſſemblée Nationale* !*

This queſtion being diſpoſed of, the King's letter ſhould then have been taken into conſideration, and the motion for it was made. The Members of the *Coté-gauche* did not dare

* In this trial, *Lariviere* had exactly obſerved all the forms preſcribed by the new laws; but he had conducted it with a degree of rigour and notoriety that could not but diſpleaſe the Aſſembly. He had ſo greatly exaggerated in his own mind the importance of this affair, that he firmly believed a Counter-revolution would be the immediate conſequence of it, if he ſucceeded in unmaſking the treachery of the plans and manœuvres of the Jacobins. Some indiſcreet expreſſions which eſcaped him ſhowed but too plainly that ſuch was his

dare to oppoſe it, but they had the ſkill to prevent its being put to the vote. "I do "not oppoſe the motion now made," ſaid *Genſonné*, "but if the Aſſembly would "hear me, I move to be firſt heard in "order to denounce the Auſtrian Com-"mittee." This motion was received with the loudeſt applauſe, and ſeconded by *Briſſot*, who promiſed to report, in as ſhort a time as poſſible, proofs of the exiſtence of this Committee ſufficiently clear *to make the blows aimed at the National Aſſembly fall on the heads of the guilty.* Let us ſee how this promiſe was fulfilled.

In the Sitting of the 23d of May, the Preſident announced with great ſolemnity that the engagement of Meſſrs. *Briſſot* and *Genſonné*, to unmaſk and prove the exiſtence of an Auſtrian Committee at Paris

aim, and it was the real cauſe of his impeachment. He was ſent to Orleans, and ſhared the fate of the priſoners of the Supreme National Court, whom a detachment of the Brigands from Paris went and forced from the priſons of Orleans and brought to Verſailles, where they were all maſſacred on the 8th of September 1792, except ſome ſervants, and M. *de Loyauté*, who had the good fortune to eſcape notwithſtanding his wounds.

was

was the order of the day. Immediately a motion of order was made, to recall to the Aſſembly the temper and juſtice which ought to direct this diſcuſſion. "France, "and all Europe," ſaid the Speaker, "ſhall "acknowledge that we are worthy of the "eminent poſt we occupy by the dignified "calm with which we liſten to and deter- "mine on the greateſt intereſts of the coun- "try." He alſo called upon the Preſi- dent to recommend ſilence to the *excellent citizens* in the galleries, and the recommen- dation was given. *Genſonné* then ſpoke, and divided his report into two parts. In the firſt, his object was to prove that im- peachments and proſecutions for offences endangering the State being excluſively aſ- ſigned by the Conſtitution to the Legiſlative Body, and the trial of them to the Supreme National Court, the King's letter to the Aſſembly, and the order given to the Public Accuſer in the Criminal Court at Paris, on the ſubject of the pretended Auſtrian Com- mittee were at once injurious to the Legiſ- lative Body, an infringement of the Conſti- tution, and dangerous to the public ſafety.

All this would not have been diſplaced, had the exiſtence of this Auſtrian Com-

mittee and their pretended plots been proved, for then the ſafety of the State would really have been endangered; but it certainly could not be endangered by a ſuppoſition as abſurd as wicked, hazarded by ſome journaliſts or club-orators at the inſtigation of the faction by whom they were kept in pay, and who had invented this calumny, as a Revolutionary means of great effect againſt the King and every body devoted to him. The individuals pointed out to the fury of the people as Members of this Committee, or included on that account in a liſt of proſcription, had undoubtedly a right to proſecute their ſlanderers in the ordinary Courts, for it was the only means they had of eſcaping aſſaſſination. Had they applied for redreſs to the Aſſembly for being falſely accuſed of endangering the State, the Aſſembly might juſtly have replied, that all private proſecutions for calumny were out of their jurisdiction, and that they could not take cognizance of that laid before them, unleſs the reality of the Auſtrian Committee and their plots were proved on ſufficient evidence. Now, let us ſee to what that evidence was reduced as preſented by *Genſonné* in the ſecond part of his report.

" When

" Were a moral certainty ſufficient," ſaid he, " I do not think there is a ſingle man in " France, who, knowing the deep cor- " ruption of the Court and its conduct ſince " the period of the Revolution, could re- " tain the ſlighteſt doubt of the exiſtence of " this Committee. Is it not to the influence " of this ſecret directory we are compelled " to aſcribe the indulgence that has always " been ſhown to the rebels, and the favours " that have been obtained by thoſe who have " appeared the moſt violent enemies of the " public liberty? How otherwiſe can the " ſtrangeneſs of our political ſituation be " accounted for? How can one believe that " a coalition of foreign Powers, formed on " a principle of ſerving the King of the " French, ſhould be ſtill exiſting at this " day, were it not that this Directory had " raiſed doubts of his real intentions? Now, " in ſhort, *but on this ſuppoſition*, could " one account for the preſent war, the cauſes " that determined it, the contumacy of the " rebels, and the inſolence of the Counter- " revolutioniſts? It is advancing a great " way, that, independent of all the par- " ticular circumſtances which atteſt the ex- " iſtence of this Committee, general cir-

" cumſtances

" cumſtances, our political ſituation, the
" nature and force of things, eſtabliſh the
" fact to a moral certainty* : but, confining
" ourſelves to particular facts, proved by
" written denunciations, by notices from
" witneſſes whom you may hear at the
" bar, by denunciations received from Juſ-
" tices of the Peace, from Municipalities,
" and from Directories of Diſtricts and De-
" partments, depoſited with the Committee
" of Inſpection, we ſee that men, formerly
" privileged perſons, who were lately in
" Paris, and whoſe departure ſeems con-
" certed, have mentioned in their Depart-
" ments, that they went to ſupport the
" authority of the King, carry off his Ma-
" jeſty if that became neceſſary, and diſ-
" ſolve the National Aſſembly. The great
" aſſembling at the ſame period could only
" be the effect of an invitation given in
" ſeveral departments; for, whatever were
" the vertigo that had ſeized the brain of
" the Counter-revolutioniſts, it is difficult
" to conceive how this epidemic could have
" been ſo general, had not a powerful coali-

* What certainty can reſult from a bare ſuppoſition founded on ſuch vague conjectures?

" tion

tion promiſed them aſſiſtance, and had
" not the names of the perſons compoſing
" it ſtamped a probability on the ſtories told
" them of the private inclinations of the
" King. It appears alſo from theſe docu-
" ments, that large meetings occaſionally
" take place with thoſe formerly privileged
" perſons and the people of the Court, at
" St. Denis, Auteuil, and Bagatelle; and
" that on the liſt given of the aſſociates of
" theſe clandeſtine Councils*, the names of
" M. *Bertrand* and M. *Montmorin* are
" almoſt always down. Several denuncia-
" tions will alſo ſatisfy you as to the ma-

* Were theſe large meetings, theſe imaginary clandeſtine Councils, the Auſtrian Committee? And if the exiſtence of them were proved by depoſitions worthy of credit, why did not the Speaker, who had at his command all the papers depoſited with the Committee of Inſpection, read to the Aſſembly, as he ought to have done, thoſe which proved this fact? The truth is, that thoſe pretended depoſitions and written notices reſpecting this aſſertion were nothing more than extracts from newſpapers, in which the groſſeſt impoſtures were daily publiſhed, and which impudently ſpoke of my frequent journies to Auteuil, St. Denis, and Bagatelle, although it was known, and very eaſy to be proved, that I never once went out of Paris after my retiring from the Miniſtry, till the 12th of October following.

" nœuvres

" nœuvres that were employed in formi
" the King's guard, for the purpoſe o
" excluding men ſuſpected for their pa
" triotiſm, and of ſhaking their fidelity
" to the French nation. I will recall to
" your mind that expenſive undertaking of
" forged aſſignats at Paſſy, which, from
" the enormous advance it required leaves
" no room to doubt that it was ſupported
" by great means, and by a very powerful
" coalition. How is it poſſible to doubt
" the influence which this cabal has been
" able to preſerve at Court, when we ſee
" perſons employed in the Palace whoſe
" neareſt relations are actually ſerving at
" Coblentz? I will add, that there are proofs
" of diſtributions of money for paying
" hired ſlanderers to bring the Legiſlature
" into contempt, paralyſe the action of the
" Government in all its parts, excite com-
" motions, &c. &c. If I wiſhed to have
" one proof more of the exiſtence of this
" conſpiracy, of this Auſtrian Committee,
" I ſhould find it in the combined proceed-
" ings of the late Miniſters, *Bertrand* and
" *Montmorin*, and the Juſtice of peace
" *Lariviere*; in the impudence of their
" denunciation, and in the indirect appro-
" bation

bation which they have had the atrocious
" perfidy to ſolicit from the King. It is
" our buſineſs to watch the guilty practices
" with which treaſon ſurrounds us. Let
" us all engage to devote ourſelves to the
" detection of it, to give it all our efforts,
" all our energy, and to purſue the con-
" ſpirators to the extinction of all power.
" I denounce to you the late Miniſters
" *Montmorin* and *Bertrand*, or rather,
" they have denounced themſelves. I move
" that you paſs a decree of impeachment
" againſt the former, and that you call for
" an account of the conduct of the latter
" reſpecting the colonies. I accuſe M.
" *Montmorin* of having conſtantly, during
" the whole time he was in Adminiſtration,
" betrayed the nation, ſacrificed its intereſts
" to thoſe of the Houſe of Auſtria, fa-
" voured the preparations of the rebel
" Princes, concealed from the nation the
" confederation of the Powers with which
" it was threatened, and endeavoured to
" lull them into the moſt dangerous ſecurity.
" I accuſe M. *Bertrand* of having con-
" tributed to increaſe the diſaſters of the
" Colony of St. Domingo by evading the
" execution of the decree which the National

" Aſſembly

" Aſſembly paſſed in the month of De-
" cember laſt; I accuſe him of having
" fraudulently concealed from the Aſſem-
" bly important official papers, in the fear,
" no doubt, of their cauſing the revocation
" of the decree of the 24th of September."

I will not ſtop to refute here theſe new heads of accuſation, hazarded againſt me without the ſlighteſt proof; I ſhall only obſerve, that they had not the leaſt reference to the Auſtrian Committee, and conſequently not a ſhadow of proof could be drawn from them of its exiſtence. This obſervation equally applies to all the other falſehoods alleged in this report, which a part of the Aſſembly and the galleries ſeveral times interrupted with crying, *to the fact—this is but words—but where are your proofs?*

Briſſot, wiſhing, no doubt, to avoid the ſame invocations, ſo varied and generalized the ideas to be attached to the words *Auſtrian Committee*, that every act whatever, which was not *in the ſenſe of the Revolution*, might be attributed to that pretended Committee. " What is meant," ſaid he, " by *Auſtrian Committee?* It is a fac-
" tion of the enemies of liberty, who
" ſometimes, in the name of the King
" whom

whom they deceive, ſometimes directing
" his Miniſtry, have conſtantly betrayed
" the people, and ſacrificed the intereſts of
" the nation to thoſe of one family. The
" ſubjection of this Committee to the Houſe
" of Auſtria is its principal ſign, and in
" this view it is only a branch of the party
" who rule France. The intrigues of this
" party may be dated from the fatal treaty
" of 1756; a treaty for which we are
" indebted to the perfidy of the Miniſter
" *Kaunitz*. It was M. *de Merci* who
" directed the Cabinet of France when the
" people overthrew the Baſtile, and it is he
" who ſtill directs it. This is what has
" been called the Auſtrian Committee; this
" is, in other words, the clandeſtine Coun-
" cil who have hitherto favoured all the
" projects of the foreign enemies of the
" Conſtitution. Do you wiſh to know the
" characteriſtic traits of this Committee?
" They are theſe:

" 1ſt, An abſolute devotion to what is
" called the Royal Prerogative;

" 2dly, An abſolute devotion to the in-
" tereſts of the Houſe of Auſtria;

" 3dly, No alliance with England or with
" Pruſſia,

" Pruſſia, however eaſy or however advan-
" tageous it might be;

" 4thly, An indulgence to the Emigrant
" rebels, without adhering, however, to all
" their views;

" 5thly, An oppoſition to war with the
" Houſe of Auſtria, after provoking it;

" 6thly, A project to eſtabliſh the two
" Chambers.

" If I prove that all theſe traits are appli-
" cable to the Miniſtry, whoſe reign has
" juſt been ſubverted: if I prove that they
" conſtantly betrayed the intereſts of the
" Revolution, that they ſacrificed every
" thing to the Royal Family—I ſhall have
" proved, I think, that there were grounds
" for accuſing that Miniſtry of having
" formed with ſome deputies of the Con-
" ſtituent Aſſembly a Committee that may
" be called Auſtrian, as it has ſo well ſerved
" the Houſe of Auſtria. Conſpiracies of
" this kind were not written, and although
" one cannot doubt their exiſtence, it is
" ſometimes difficult to find ſufficient proof
" of them. However, I will dwell no
" longer on general heads—I proceed to
" denounce the Miniſters with their cor-
" reſpondences in my hand."

It

It is certain, that after this preamble, and particularly after enforcing ſuch definitions, the ſpeaker taking up at hazard the letters of the Miniſters, might boldly denounce the wiſeſt as criminal, and find proofs of the exiſtence of the Auſtrian Committee, in thoſe which expreſſed hopes or wiſhes *for the ceſſation of anarchy, for the preſervation of the Monarchical Government, and for a reſtoration to the King of the power and authority neceſſary to govern.* Such were, in fact, the Revolutionary crimes with which *Briſſot* charged M. *de Montmorin*, the proofs of which he took from ſome paſſages of that Miniſter's letters, which he inconſiderately read to the Aſſembly, and which, in ſpite of the perfidious art of his comments, totally diſcredited his denunciation. The only aſſertion he advanced that could raiſe a ſuſpicion of the exiſtence of an Auſtrian Committee, was the ſuppoſed ruling influence of the Count *de Merci* over the Miniſtry of France; but he did not ſupport this aſſertion with any proof or probable evidence whatever.

As for me, *Briſſot* was not ſatisfied with repeating calumnies already often refuted, and the groſſeſt abuſe which the Jacobin

Club of Breſt, and their worthy organ, *Cavelier*, the reporter of the Marine Committee, had poured forth againſt me, he accuſed me alſo of intending to place the ſovereign power over the Colonies in the King alone, to the prejudice of the ſovereignty of the nation; and of having concerted this guilty project with the Colonial Aſſemblies, a project with which the troubles of St. Domingo were connected, and which, according to him, was far from being unconnected with the views of the Auſtrian Committee. Laſtly, he charged me with *my farewel to the Miniſtry* *, which, he ſaid, ſeemed to expreſs great hopes of a Counter-revolution. He concluded, as *Genſonné* had done, that a decree of impeachment ſhould be paſſed againſt M. *de Montmorin*, and that the Aſſembly ſhould call for an account of my conduct.

Theſe malicious declamations, deſtitute of all reaſonable grounds, far from fulfilling the engagement they had ſolemnly entered into, to prove unanſwerably the exiſtence of an Auſtrian Committee, ſhowed evidently, on the contrary, the abſolute impoſſibility

* He thus termed my ſtatement given to the Aſſembly.

of

of giving the ſlighteſt conſiſtency to that phantom: of courſe, *Briſſot*'s ſpeech was not more convincing than that of his colleagues. Nevertheleſs, the Jacobin party, after ſome oppoſition, obtained a decree that both their ſpeeches ſhould be printed and diſtributed three days before the ſubject was taken into conſideration, as well as the papers mentioned in them as vouchers; and that the whole ſhould be referred to the united Committees of the Twelve, the Committee of Inſpection, and Diplomatic Committee, to make their report of it. A few days after, M. *de Montmorin* and I ſeparately publiſhed replies to theſe two ſpeeches, and ſo fully demonſtrated the impoſture and abſurdity of them, that after that time no Journaliſt or orator dared to ſpeak again of the *Auſtrian Committee*, leſt they ſhould be laughed at. The Committees to whom this affair had been referred, thought the moſt prudent part they could take was to ſuffer it to be forgotten, and then the proſecutions for which the Public Accuſer had received orders from the King became of no moment.

Such at length was the end of that ridiculous fable which had been ſo ſucceſsfully

uſed in throwing on the Royaliſts, on the Court, and on the Royal Family themſelves, the crimes and diſaſters produced by the Revolution. The part that this imaginary Committee have been made to play in it, appeared to me to render the detail into which I have entered on the ſubject indiſpenſable.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XVII.

The King's Dread of a civil War—Mallet du Pan's Miſſion—His Letter to Mareſchal de Caſtries—Jacobinical Commotions preparatory to paſſing a Decree of Baniſhment againſt certain nonjuring Prieſts—Petion countenances the Impoſtures uſed to excite them—His Letter to the Commander of the King's Guard—The Patroles and Guards increaſed about the Palace—The King's Conduct on the Occaſion—His Letters to the Municipality and Directory of the Department—Petion diſgraced—Edition of Madame Lamothe's Memoirs burnt—Unexpected

Conſequences of it—The King's Guard denounced by Bazire—Alarm of the Aſſembly and of the Municipality—Decree for diſbanding the King's Guard—The real Motives of it—The Conſequence of an extraordinary Order given to the Soldiers of the Hotel of the Invalids—Chabot undertakes to prove a Conſpiracy againſt the Liberty of the Nation—The futile Proofs he adduced—Plan for employing the Galleries againſt the Influence of the Jacobins in the Aſſembly.

THE campaign had opened with the defeat at Mons and Tournay, and nothing farther had taken place beyond ſome ſkirmiſhing between the poſts, in which the Auſtrian troops always had the advantage. Mareſchal *Rochambeau* had finally given up the command of his army, and his reſignation had been followed by that of a great part of the old officers. The number of thoſe who emigrated became daily more conſiderable; whole Regiments went over to the enemy. "However painful theſe tidings may be," ſaid the Miniſter *Servan* on this occaſion, in the Sitting of May 14, "we ought to

"conſole

" conſole ourſelves, by recollecting that " they are only traitors who have deſerted. " It is perhaps a bleſſing we ought to look " for; as nothing can be more fortunate " for the troops than to ſee the filth that " may be among them drained off. Far " from being diſcouraged by the loſs of " theſe apparent forces, the friends of li- " berty ſhould be firm againſt difficulties, " and take new courage. You will, no " doubt, ſettle the puniſhments which ought " to be inflicted, not only on thoſe officers " who have gone out of the country, but " I dare ſay even on thoſe who have been " infamous enough to reſign at the moment " of attack."

The King, far from yielding to this patriotic ſecurity, ſaw, with the deepeſt ſorrow, France engaged in an unjuſt and bloody war, which the diſorganization of her armies ſeemed to render it impoſſible to carry on, and which more than ever expoſed our frontier provinces to invaſion. His Majeſty dreaded above all a civil war, and did not doubt that it would break out on the news of the firſt advantage gained over the French troops by the Emigrant corps, which formed a part of the Auſtrian army. It was indeed

but too much to be feared that the Jacobins and people, in their fury, would make bloody repriſals on the prieſts and nobles remaining in France. Theſe fears, which the King expreſſed in his letters to me, were the occaſion of my propoſing to him to ſend a perſon of confidence to the Emperor and the King of Pruſſia, to endeavour to prevail on them not to allow their armies to act offenſively againſt France, until they ſhould be under the inevitable neceſſity of ſo doing; and even in that caſe to let the entrance of their armies into France be preceded by a manifeſto, in which they ſhould declare, "that forced to take arms by an unjuſt "attack, they did not impute that aggreſ-"ſion either to the King or to the French "nation, but to a criminal faction which "oppreſſed both; that conſequently, far "from departing from the ſentiments of "amity which united them to France, their "intention, on the contrary, was to deliver "that nation from tyranny, and reſtore it "to legal order and tranquillity; that they "had no view of interfering with the form "of government, but merely to ſecure to "the nation the right of adopting that "which ſuited it the beſt; that all idea

"of

" of conqueſt was foreign to their thoughts;
" that private property ſhould be by them
" equally reſpected as national property;
" that their Majeſties took all peaceable
" and faithful ſubjects under their pro-
" tection; that they conſidered as their ene-
" mies thoſe only who were the enemies of
" France, namely, the faction of Jacobins
" and all its adherents, &c."

In conſequence of the manner in which I had often heard M. *Malouet* ſpeak of *Mallet-du-Pan*, with whom I was not myſelf acquainted, I adviſed the King to employ him on this occaſion, which could be done with the more ſafety, becauſe he had never been at Court, and was little known to thoſe who frequented it; and he might proceed to Germany by the way of Geneva, to which city he was in the uſe of making frequent journies, and of courſe his departure would create no ſuſpicion.

The talents and probity of *Mallet-du-Pan* were not unknown to the King, who immediately agreed to my propoſal. It would have been imprudent to have given him letters of credit, but at the ſame time it was abſolutely neceſſary that he ſhould have the means of convincing the Emperor and

and the King of Pruſſia that he was really ſent by *Louis* XVI. In my letter to his Majeſty, I therefore propoſed to addreſs *Mallet-du-Pan* to the Baron *de Breteuil*; and I gave, as my reaſon for this propoſal, *the powers which, as I had heard*, that miniſter had received from the King. In anſwer to this article of my letter, the King wrote in the margin,

"Not at all. He has no longer any "powers from me; but you may addreſs "*Mallet-du-Pan*, in my name, to the "Mareſchal *de Caſtries*, with the pre- "cautions you propoſe, which are very "neceſſary."

The precautions to which the King alluded related to the letters and inſtructions to be given to *Mallet-du-Pan*. As he might be ſtopped, and his papers ſeized, it was of great conſequence that not a word ſhould be found in them that might diſcover his Majeſty's ſecret. It was eaſy to avoid this danger, in the letter that was to ſerve as *Mallet-du-Pan*'s credentials to Mareſchal *de Caſtries*; and I wrote it in ſuch a manner, that the moſt ſuſpicious Committee of Inſpection could not have ſuppoſed it to have the leaſt reference to the King, or that

it

it was meant for any other perſon than *Mallet-du Pan* himſelf, to whom I directed the cover.

This letter, in my hand-writing, and ſigned by me, could not but appear of very little importance, particularly as I was very little acquainted with M. *de Caſtries*, and had never written to him before. It was nearly as follows:

"Sir, the bearer of this letter poſſeſſes "the confidence, and is acquainted with "the intentions, of a family for whom you "have a great affection, and who fully rely "on your attachment. I have taken upon "me to recommend him to you. He has "undertaken a journey ſolely for the pur- "poſe of being of ſome ſervice to that "intereſting family; and I doubt not, that "when he acquaints you with his views, "you will give him every aſſiſtance in your "power."

Mallet-du-Pan was to keep this letter in its original cover till he arrived at Cologne, when he was to put it into another directed to Mareſchal *de Caſtries*.

The inſtructions relative to this miſſion were neceſſarily too clear and preciſe to admit of a ſimilar diſguiſe; it was therefore requiſite

requiſite to have recourſe to other means, and it was determined that *Mallet-du-Pan*, who had drawn them up according to the King's directions, ſhould not carry them with him, but that a copy of them in cypher ſhould be ſent to him at Geneva, under cover to one of his friends. For this purpoſe I invented a cypher, which it was impoſſible to comprehend without the key. It required a Dictionary, and I choſe the Rhyming one, becauſe each line of it conſiſting of a ſingle word, the work of cyphering and decyphering was leſs laborious; and alſo becauſe the ſyllables placed at the top of each page gave an opportunity of cyphering the ſame word in ſeveral different ways to increaſe the puzzle to all the decypherers of the Committees.

Theſe inſtructions were compoſed of ſeven articles, and were of the following tenor *:

" 1ſt, The King not only exhorts, but " beſeeches, the Princes and French Emi-

* Since the publication of the Engliſh tranſlation of my Private Memoirs, I have recovered my original correſpondence with *Mallet-du-Pan*, from which I have taken this article.

" grants

" grants to give no grounds, by a hoſtile
" and offenſive concurrence on their part,
" for diveſting the preſent war of the cha-
" racter of a foreign one waged between
" different Powers.

" 2dly, He expreſſly recommends to them
" to leave to him and the interfering Courts
" the conſideration and care of their in-
" tereſts, when the time for treating of
" them arrives.

" 3dly, They muſt appear only parties,
" and not arbiters, in the diſpute, as the
" arbitration ſhould be reſerved for his Ma-
" jeſty when reſtored to liberty, and for
" the Powers requiring it.

" 4thly, Any other conduct would pro-
" duce a civil war, endanger the lives of
" the King and his family, overturn the
" throne, cauſe a maſſacre of the Royaliſts,
" ſecure to the Jacobins all the Revolu-
" tioniſts who have abandoned, and who
" are daily abandoning them, rekindle a
" fire that ſeems dying away, and give great
" force to a reſiſtance which will yield at
" the firſt ſucceſſes, if the fate of the Re-
" volution ſhall appear excluſively entruſted
" to thoſe againſt whom it was directed,
" and who have been the victims of it.

" 5thly,

"5thly, To repreſent to the Courts of "Vienna and Berlin the propriety of a "manifeſto, in common for them and the "other States, who have entered into the "confederation; the importance of draw-"ing up this manifeſto in ſuch a manner "as to diſtinguiſh the Jacobins from the "reſt of the nation, to encourage all thoſe "who may return from their error, or who "not wiſhing for the preſent Conſtitution, "deſire a ſuppreſſion of abuſes, and a ra-"tional liberty under a monarchy limited "by law.

"6thly, To ſtate in the manifeſto the "fundamental truth that the war is directed "againſt a faction deſtructive of ſociety, "and not againſt the French nation; that "it is in the defence of legal governments "and nations againſt a furious anarchy, "which deſtroys among men all ties of "ſocial intercourſe, and all the compacts "on which depend liberty, peace, and "public ſafety at home and abroad; to "remove all fear of diſmemberment, to "impoſe no laws, but to declare with "energy to the Aſſembly, Adminiſtrative "Bodies, Municipalities, and Miniſters, "that they ſhould be held individually reſ-

"ponſible

" ponſible in their perſons and property for " all outrages committed againſt the ſacred " perſon of the King, or thoſe of the " Queen and their family, and againſt the " perſons and property of any citizen what- " ever.

" 7thly, To expreſs the King's wiſh, " that in entering the kingdom, the Powers " ſhould declare that they are ready to agree " to a peace, but that they neither can nor " will treat but with the King; that in " conſequence they require that he ſhould " be reſtored to full liberty, and then that a " Congreſs be aſſembled, in which the dif- " ferent intereſts ſhall be diſcuſſed on the " grounds already ſettled, the Emigrants be " admitted as parties complaining, and the " general plan of reform be negociated un- " der the auſpices and guaranty of the " Powers."

A duplicate of theſe inſtructions, atteſted by the King by a particular ſtroke of his pen, known to Mareſchal *de Caſtries*, was to have been delivered to him by one of my brothers, who, following the King's inſtructions, was to ſet out firſt with a paſſport for England, and take the packet from Dover to Oſtend, in order to ſee the Mareſchal,

reſchal, and confirm to him the important miſſion entruſted to *Mallet-du-Pan*, that it might not be confounded with thoſe with which ſeveral perſons coming from France had pretended to be charged, although neither the King nor Queen had the ſlighteſt knowledge of them. Unfortunately, my brother was taken ill two days before that fixed for his departure, and when he recovered, there was no longer occaſion for his journey.

The King explained in a moſt ample manner ſome articles of theſe inſtructions in the letters he wrote to me, and which he ordered me to communicate to *Mallet-du-Pan*. He particularly recommended ſtrongly inſiſting, on the part of his Majeſty, that the coaleſced Powers ſhould never ſuffer the Emigrants to be employed in the front of the army, but only in the rear, and to guard the places taken. This recommendation has been aſcribed to the uneaſineſs ſuppoſed to have been raiſed in the King's mind, *as to the extravagant pretenſions which the Princes and Emigrants might ſet up, were his Majeſty reduced to the humiliation of owing to their zeal the re-eſtabliſhment of his authority.* I have ſtrong reaſons to believe

lieve that endeavours were made to diſturb the King's mind, and particularly the Queen's, with notions of ſuch odious pretenſions; but I declare, that on this occaſion I never perceived the leaſt trace of uneaſineſs in the correſpondence of their Majeſties. On the contrary, I always obſerved in it the moſt affectionate friendſhip for the Princes, the moſt ſincere and affecting concern for the French nobility, and above all, an extreme horror at the leaſt idea of a civil war. The King had not a wiſh nearer his heart than that of ſeeing the Emigrants return to France, without giving grounds for the reproach of having cauſed a ſingle drop of French blood to be ſpilt.

Mallet-du-Pan ſet out for Geneva on the 17th of May, and two days after his arrival there ſent the following letter to Mareſchal *de Caſtries*:

"Geneva, May 24, 1792.

"Sir, I arrived here the day before yeſ-
"terday, and am preparing to ſet out in the
"beginning of next week, to wait upon
"you as ſpeedily as poſſible, in order to
"conſult you on the execution of a private
"and ſecret miſſion, for which I have re-

" ceived the King's inſtructions. In de-
" ſiring that I ſhould have the honour of
" conferring with you, his Majeſty but
" anticipated my own wiſhes and intentions.
" The meaſures of prudence required by
" the preſent ſituation of the kingdom, and
" the horrible tyranny under which it
" groans, have cauſed me to take a different
" route from a perſon who will probably
" be at Cologne before me, and who is
" commiſſioned, Sir, to deliver to you my
" vouchers of authority. I was myſelf
" too much watched and threatened to run
" the riſk of croſſing a hundred leagues
" through France with any paper of con-
" ſequence. I feel, Sir, more deſire than
" hope of effectually accompliſhing his
" Majeſty's enlightened views. Your ad-
" vice and aſſiſtance will make amends for
" the feebleneſs of my powers, but none
" could engage in this buſineſs with greater
" zeal than I, or more free from all party
" ſpirit ſyſtem, or intereſt; no one is more
" convinced of the juſtneſs of his Majeſty's
" ideas, who, having agents in all the de-
" partments, and daily receiving the beſt
" and moſt extenſive information, knows
" with certainty the public inclinations,

" and

" and what is to be feared and hoped from
" them, according to the modes and means
" that the foreign force will be ſeconded.
" The ſafety of the Monarchy, that of the
" King and of his family, the ſecurity of
" men's perſons and property, the ſtability
" of the future order which is to ſucceed
" the preſent confuſion, the neceſſity of
" ſhortening the criſis and of weakening
" reſiſtance, all concur in urging the atten-
" tion and ſubmiſſion of true Royaliſts to
" the wiſhes of his Majeſty. He juſtly
" dreads that a foreign war may produce a
" civil one in the kingdom, or rather a
" *Jacquerie**; on which account he feels
" the moſt painful ſolicitude. He ardently
" deſires, that in order to prevent incalcu-
" lable horrors, the poſſibility of which is
" perhaps too lightly rejected, the Emi-
" grants ſhould not take any active or offen-
" ſive part in the hoſtilities, but that they
" ſhould conſult the intereſt of the King,
" of the State, of their property, and that
" of all the Royaliſts remaining in the

* In the year 1358 there was an inſurrection of the peaſants againſt the nobility, which was diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *la Jacquerie*.

" kingdom, rather than foſter reſentments
" but too legal, in order that after diſarm-
" ing crimes by victories, and diſſolving
" a frantic conſpiracy of uſurpers ſprung
" from nothing, taking from them all
" power of reſiſting, a foundation may be
" laid by ſo mild a Revolution for a treaty
" of peace, in which the foreign Powers
" and the King may ſettle the fate of the
" nation and of our laws.

" This, Sir, is the ſubſtance of his Ma-
" jeſty's intentions and wiſhes. You have
" long known them, and I but recal them
" to your mind. In the preſent juncture it
" would be the height of imprudence to
" neglect the moſt ſerious conſideration of
" them. If I dared to refer to my own
" experience, and the knowledge I think I
" have of the ſituation of things and of
" men, I ſhould only be embarraſſed in the
" choice of proofs that ſupport his Ma-
" jeſty's repreſentations. All will be eaſy
" both now and in future, if the plan of
" conduct he recommends is adhered to;
" and all will be attended with dangers,
" uncertainty, and difficulties, if it is not
" adopted.

" To you only, Sir, I make this previous
" communi-

" communication. My inſtructions will " probably be delivered to you before my " arrival by the Gentleman who is to take " a journey for that purpoſe, and who " croſſing the Channel, is to go from Eng- " land to Oſtend, and thence to the town " where you reſide.

" Permit me to aſſure you of the reſpect- " ful ſentiments with which I have the " honour to be, &c. &c."

The King thought it proper that M. *Malouet*, who had made me acquainted with *Mallet-du-Pan*, and with whom all the particulars relative to this miſſion had been diſcuſſed, ſhould occaſionally correſpond on the execution of it with *Mallet-du-Pan*, to avoid the inquiries and ſuſpicions which might be excited by a ſucceſſion of letters coming from Germany, directed to the ſame perſon. It was conſequently agreed, that whenever M. *Malouet* received any letters of this correſpondence, he ſhould immediately bring them to me, and I was to ſend a copy of them to the King, as well as of thoſe addreſſed directly to myſelf.

Meanwhile the manœuvres and ſecret councils of the factious, the agitation of

the Capital, the declamations and threats with which the tribunes of the Clubs and even that of the Aſſembly rung, foretold an approaching criſis, and warned all honeſt men to be doubly vigilant and wary; for the more the criminal object of all the Revolutionary movements was known, the more uncertain and incalculable was the term at which any of them was likely to ſtop, even to thoſe who excited them, and who had no other plan than to puſh them always as far as circumſtances would allow. The meaſures to be finally taken againſt the prieſts who refuſed the oath, had been for ſome days the ſubject of debate before the Aſſembly, and it was to be expected that the moſt oppreſſive, conſtantly ſupported by the applauſes of the galleries, would be adopted by a great majority.* In reſolutions of which the populace are the chief inſtrument, the grand point of the factious who employ them, is to preſerve their confidence; and the ſureſt means for that purpoſe is not to have recourſe to their ſupport but for meaſures or acts of violence; becauſe it is to ſuch they are the moſt naturally inclined by the ſtupid brutality of their paſſions. The Jacobins were perfectly acquainted with theſe

theſe tactics, and never deviated from them. They were no leſs ſkilful in alarming and agitating the multitude by falſe news or imaginary conſpiracies, when they had occaſion for a popular commotion to obtain the paſſing of any decree. That which was to determine the tranſportation of every nonjuring eccleſiaſtic, ſimply on the demand of twenty active citizens, ſupported by the opinion of the diſtrict, was a Revolutionary meaſure of too deciſive a nature to allow the omiſſion of any means that might concur in its ſucceſs. Accordingly, when the Aſſembly had fixed the day for taking this atrocious decree into conſideration, the orators of the *Palais-Royal* groups and of the Fauxbourgs, advertiſements and placards, ſome printed, ſome written, proclaimed the arrival of a great number of ſtrangers, *moſt of them very ſuſpected perſons;* and it was ſaid *that the ſcene of daggers was about to be renewed. Plans for a Counter-revolution* were loudly talked of; alſo *nocturnal meetings at the Palace, and extraordinary movements, in the midſt of which, among other crimes to be committed, was that of carrying off the King and his family.*

The Mayor, *Petion*, countenanced theſe

impoſtures as much as it was in his power, not only by pretending to believe them, but by making them the pretext for the following letter, which he wrote to the Commander in Chief of the National Guard on the 22d of May:

"Sir, Several perſons have informed me "of their fears of the King's departure to-"night. Commotions and inſurrections "are alſo ſpoken of for this night; and the "whole is accompanied with probable evi-"dence. I therefore requeſt you not to "loſe a moment in taking every meaſure of "circumſpection and prudence, to increaſe "the number of patroles in the neighbour-"hood of the Palace, and to fill them well "with men."

The extraordinary buſtle occaſioned in the Palace by the execution of the orders which the Commander had given in conſequence of this letter, which he received at ten o'clock at night, being obſerved by the King, he ſent for that officer, and aſked the reaſon of the directions given at night for increaſing the guard at the Palace, and the patroles in the neighbourhood, not only without any order from

from his Majeſty, but without his having the leaſt knowledge of it. The Commander not being able to explain and juſtify his conduct but by *Petion*'s letter, did not heſitate to ſhow it to the King, who read it with equal indignation and ſurpriſe. Is it, in fact, conceivable that, on vague and abſurd aſſertions, the falſity of which might have been ſo ſpeedily proved; the head of the Municipality and of the Police, inſtead of going himſelf to the Palace, where he might have been ſatisfied that there was no meeting or commotion whatever, ſhould have really thought he was obliged by the duties of his office to require, in the middle of the night, meaſures ſufficiently alarming to have ſpread tumult and terror throughout the Capital, and brought on the popular commotions which he appeared deſirous of preventing?

I was informed of theſe particulars by a letter which I received from the King next morning at nine o'clock. I immediately went and communicated it to M. *de Montmorin*, that I might as ſoon as poſſible convey to his Majeſty, according to his orders, our opinion as to what ſtep was to be taken on this occaſion. We both thought that the beſt

beſt thing the King could do was, to denounce *Petion*'s irregular and indecent conduct in a ſpirited letter to the Municipality, and to ſend a copy of it to the Directory of the Department, who being ſenſible and well-meaning men, would probably make it public immediately.

The King fully adopted this advice, and on the ſame day, May 23d, wrote a letter to the Municipality in the following terms:

"Gentlemen, I have ſeen a letter which "the Mayor wrote laſt night to the Com- "mander of the National Guard, in which "he informs him of fears for my departure "during the night, founded, he ſays, on "probable evidence. He blends this news "with reports of commotion and inſur- "rection, and he orders the patroles to be "increaſed, and more men added to each. "Why does the Mayor on ſuch reports "give orders to the Commander in Chief "without letting me know any thing of "them, when, by the Conſtitution, it is "his duty, under my orders, to ſee the "laws enforced for the maintenance of pub- "lic tranquillity? Has he forgotten the "letter which I wrote to the Municipality

"in

" in the month of February? You will
" eaſily ſee, Gentlemen, that this rumour
" in the preſent circumſtances is a new and
" horrid calumny, by the help of which
" it is meant to raiſe the people, and miſ-
" lead them reſpecting the cauſe of the
" exiſting commotions. I am informed of
" all the manœuvres employed, and of
" thoſe preparing to raiſe a ferment, and to
" compel me to quit the Capital: but it
" will be in vain. When France has ene-
" mies to combat at home and abroad, my
" place is in the Capital: it is there I truſt
" that I ſhall always be ſucceſsful in diſ-
" appointing the wicked hopes of the fac-
" tious. I confide, without reſerve, in the
" Citizens of Paris, and in that National
" Guard which has been ever true to its
" honour, and the detachments of which
" that are employed on our frontiers have
" juſt given freſh proofs of their excellent
" ſpirit. They muſt be ſenſible that they
" are called upon at this moment by honour
" to redouble their zeal and vigilance. Sur-
" rounded by them, and conſcious of the
" purity of my intentions, I ſhall always
" be calm come what will; and let ſome
" do what they may, nothing ſhall alter
" my

" my ſolicitude and my endeavours for " the good of the kingdom."

Signed, " LOUIS."

In the letter which accompanied the copy of the above, the King confined himſelf to recommending to the Directory of the Department an increaſe of vigilance and care for the maintenance of public tranquillity at a moment when the wickedneſs of the rumours affected to be ſpread could not but create ſuſpicions of evil deſigns.

As ſoon as theſe letters were read the Directory, as we had foreſeen, ordered them to be printed and publiſhed. They were inſerted the next day in moſt of the newſpapers, and raiſed an almoſt general cry of indignation againſt *Petion*. In vain did his friends exhauſt all the Revolutionary common-places on his zeal, his patriotiſm, &c. to juſtify him; nor was his letter to the Citizens, which appeared in all the public papers, attended with any better ſucceſs. It was in vain that he ſaid, *that the aſcending chain and the deſcending chain, eſtabliſhed by the Conſtitution between the Conſtituted Authorities, made it unneceſſary for him to take the King's orders; that the Commander*

Commander had committed a great indiſcretion in giving up a confidential letter written to himſelf; and that the officer who delivered it to the King had evidently bad deſigns: the prevailing opinion was, that *Petion*'s conduct was that of a villain or a fool, and the manner in which he had acted on ſeveral other occaſions has ſufficiently proved that he was both.

The prudent and ſpirited part taken by the King in this affair defeated the laſt manœuvres of the Jacobins only as to himſelf; for they were completely ſucceſsful as to the decree they had propoſed againſt the non-juring clergy, and they flattered themſelves that the execution of it would ſoon drive from France that numerous claſs of faithful prieſts, who were as unſhaken in their attachment to Royalty as in their religious principles, and conſequently irreconcilable enemies of the faction, who wiſhed to overthrow both the throne and the church.

A few days after the King loſt all the effect of the advantage he had gained over the Jacobins, and his ſituation was rendered more critical than ever, by an imprudent ſtep taken by the Comptroller of the Civil Liſt.

Liſt. A ſhocking libel againſt the Queen*, in two volumes, had juſt been publiſhed in London, a great number of which had been received by *Gueffier*, a bookſeller of Paris. M. *de la Porte* heard of it in time to have the whole edition of it bought up before a ſingle copy had been ſold. There were thirty bales, which unfortunately were not ſent to his own houſe, where they could have been more ſecretly deſtroyed than any where elſe, but which were conveyed in two carts to the china manufactory at Seve to be burnt there, and M. *de la Porte* went himſelf to be certain of the order being executed. The myſterious attendance and precautions accompanying this ſtep alarmed the patriotiſm of the municipal officers of St. Cloud to ſuch a degree, that they haſtened to give an account of it to the Aſſembly in an addreſs, where the principal circumſtances of the fact were ſtated inaccurately†.

* The Memoirs of *Madame de Lamothe.*

† In this addreſs, the number of bales, inſtead of 30, were ſaid to be 52; and it was alſo falſely ſtated, for the purpoſe of rendering the burning of them more ſuſpicious, that it was under the direction of a prieſt.

This

This addreſs gave room, or rather was made a pretext for the moſt alarming conjectures, which the boldeſt of the factious in the Aſſembly outdid one another in ſupporting by declamations and falſhoods. *Merlin* maintained, that unleſs the moſt ſatisfactory information on this fact were given to the Aſſembly, they would be authoriſed to believe that the papers which had been burnt were the archives of the Auſtrian Committee. He moved, therefore, that the Miniſter of Juſtice ſhould be directed to inquire into the facts denounced. *Chabot*, leſs difficult, found thoſe facts ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, and propoſed that, without any farther inquiry, the addreſs of the Municipality of St. Cloud ſhould be added to the private denunciations and vouchers which he pretended to have in his hands to the number of 182. He aſſerted that there would be ſeen in them all the traces of the plot laid for diſſolving the National Aſſembly; and he deplored that, by deferring the report to which thoſe vouchers related, time had been given to M. *de Montmorin* to go off for England. In ſupport of this aſſertion, he impudently cited a pretended minute of the Municipality of Boulogne *ſur Mer.*

*Mer**. Nevertheleſs, the Aſſembly determined that M. *de la Porte* ſhould be immediately ſummoned to the bar to be examined. He gave exactly and faithfully a very particular account of the facts, ſuch as I have reported them, and his ſtatement was confirmed in every point by the depoſitions of the bookſeller and of the director and workmen of the manufactory at Seve, who were ſummoned and examined after him.

Here this affair might have ended, had not the violent agitation and the ſuſpicions it had raiſed been kept up by a denunciation againſt the King's guard, evidently falſe, but which was not the leſs attended with melancholy conſequences. *Bazire* deſired at the next day's Sitting to be heard, in order, he ſaid, to prove *the indiſpenſable neceſſity of diſſolving the King's guard, and of organizing it Conſtitutionally, inaſmuch as among thoſe who compoſed it there was not a fifth part Conſtitutionally eligible, and as refractory prieſts, and men returned from Coblentz, and their ſervants had been ad-*

* M. *de Montmorin*, who had not quitted Paris for ſome months, wrote a letter on the ſame day to the Aſſembly, complaining of *Chabot*'s aſſertion.

mitted

mitted into it. "I ſhall denounce," added he, "the Counter-revolutionary ſpirit with "which it is endeavoured to inſpire them; "the orgies of their officers, and of ſome "dragoon officers, in which the healths of "Meſſrs. *D'Artois, Condé*, and *Lambeſc*, "were given with that of the King and "Queen. I ſhall inform you, that a dra-"goon officer, who was at thoſe orgies, "narrowly eſcaped being ſtrangled for pro-"poſing the health of the Prince-Royal: "that they have received from the Queen a "white flag, which is to be diſplayed on "the firſt opportunity, and which in the "meantime is concealed at the barracks of "the Military School. I ſhall prove, "laſtly, that there was a plan laid for car-"rying off the King on the day the feaſt "was given to the ſoldiers of Chateau-"vieux."

The impreſſion made on the Aſſembly by this wretched denunciation, which I have reported in its very words, gives a juſt idea of the fermentation and delirium with which they were agitated at this moment. On the word of the vileſt of impoſtors they believed, or pretended to believe the country in danger, and paſſed by acclamation, amidſt

the loudeſt plaudits, a motion that was made for declaring and conſtituting themſelves permanent, as the Firſt Aſſembly had done at the time of the King's departure for Varennes. They decreed in the mean time that the Paris guard ſhould be doubled, and that the Mayor ſhould every morning come and give an account of the ſtate of the Capital, the tranquillity of which nobody would have thought of troubling, if theſe gentlemen had been good enough not to meddle with it. Several Members demanded that *Bazire* ſhould make his report in the evening: but the orator was not ready; he wanted four and twenty hours to compoſe his diſcourſe, and he was allowed that time.

The Municipal Body alſo conſtituted themſelves permanent, for no other reaſon than that of aping the Aſſembly: for the multitude, who ſtill had but very confuſed ideas of the chimerical danger at which it was intended they ſhould be alarmed, comprehended nothing of this permanence, and could as little divine for what purpoſe the guard was doubled. Theſe alarming meaſures were, in fact, much more calculated to cauſe than to prevent a popular commotion, and the factious were not ignorant of it.

The

The next day (May 29), *Petion*, in obedience to the decree by which he was ordered to give every day an account to the Aſſembly of the ſtate of the Capital, appeared at the bar, and atteſted that the night had been quiet, and that nothing foreboded a tumultuous day*. He did not fail to aſcribe the honour of it to the prudent foreſight of the Aſſembly, and to the grand meaſures they had adopted, the neceſſity of which he took pains to prove. "We muſt not," ſaid he, "allow a falſe ſecurity to be the effect of "this tranquillity of the moment; it would "be that of ſtupor, and reſemble the ſilence "that ſucceeds the thunder-clap. We muſt "not the leſs watch, and inceſſantly intimidate the wicked; they muſt be kept "curbed beneath the yoke of the law: on "the ſlighteſt relaxation they will again "hold up their audacious heads, for the "ferment daily takes a new degree of "malignity. You thought a violent criſis "was at hand, and that you could no longer ſhut your eyes to the dangers of the

* The accounts daily given by the Mayor of the ſtate of the Capital while the permanent Sitting laſted, were all conceived nearly in the ſame terms.

" country. You ſpoke, and inſtantly the " people were up in arms. The maſs of " the citizens of Paris are excellent; they " love liberty and the Conſtitution; they " will defend them to the laſt breath of " life, and the men of the 14th of July are " ſtill exiſting. Always ſhow yourſelves " elevated to the height of your functions, " diſplay that auguſt character with which " the nation has inveſted you, and you may " then be certain, not only of the tran- " quillity of Paris, but of that of all " France."

The Aſſembly beſtowed great applauſe on theſe flatteries and emphatic falſhoods, which only tended to ſecond their criminal views, by miſleading the public as to the real object of the extraordinary meaſures they had taken, and by preparing the way for the diſbanding of the King's guard. Such was, in fact, the deplorable reſult of this permanent Sitting, which laſted for four days, and the diſbanding them, which was as unconſtitutional as it was unjuſt, was decreed on a report as inſignificant and knaviſh as was to be expected from ſuch a villain as *Bazire*. The only facts proved in this report were thoſe which proved nothing, ſuch

ſuch as that of the Ariſtocratical pamphlets ſeen in the hands of ſome of the King's guards, or found in their chambers, and the cock crowned, repreſented by the hilt of their ſwords, denounced by the reporter as a Counter-revolutionary emblem, &c. &c. With reſpect to the complaints that deſerved any attention, ſuch as that of having violated the Conſtitution, by admitting perſons ineligible into the King's guard, by not obſerving the forms preſcribed for their admiſſion*, by endeavouring to inſpire the corps with a ſpirit tending to ſubvert the new ſyſtem; they were ſupported only by *hear-ſays* or unſigned denunciations, pretended to be made by good citizens, who had been diſmiſſed from the King's guard on account of their patriotiſm. Beſides, ſuppoſing the ſeven perſons† pointed out

* Neither the Conſtitution nor decrees had preſcribed any forms for the admiſſion to the King's guard, it therefore belonged to his Majeſty alone to ſettle it as he thought proper.

† The Abbé *Remis* and the Abbé *Lacaſe*, who, it was ſaid, had but juſt left a ſeminary; two ſons of Count *Berenger*, the eldeſt of whom was not fifteen years old; and three *Arleſians*, accuſed by the Reporter

out by the reporter as ineligible to have been really ſo, it was to the King that the defect in their appointment ſhould have been denounced, and it could only have been in caſe of his Majeſty's refuſing to pay any attention to it that the Aſſembly could have pretended to be authorized to make an inquiry into it: but the right of finally annulling thoſe ſeven appointments, if the irregularity of them had been proved, did not ſurely include that of ordering, on this ground alone, the whole of the King's guard, conſiſting of 1800 men, to be diſbanded. I ſay on this ground alone; for there could be nothing more chimerical than the pretended alarms occaſioned by the Counter-revolutionary ſpirit ſuppoſed to exiſt in the King's guard, and by the want of civiſm in the officers of it. Theſe aſſertions, deſtitute of all proof whatever, were worthy of being employed as the preamble of ſo ſhocking a

of having figured in the Counter-revolutionary Party, known at Arles by the denomination of *ragbags*, (chiffoniere). *Bazire* maintained, that none of theſe perſons could be admitted into the King's guard, which, according to the Conſtitution, was to be compoſed of men choſen from the troops of the line and the National Guards.

decree,

decree. It was paſſed on the 30th of May, at three o'clock in the morning, after a debate of more than fifteen hours, the violence of which was proportioned to the extreme importance the Jacobins attached to its being carried*. They had for ſome time before been openly aiming at the abſolute ſubverſion of the throne; and the King's depoſition, forced abdication, or aſſaſſination if neceſſary, were the means to accompliſh it. Among the meaſures which might remove the obſtacles in the way, or accelerate the period of it, there was none more urgent

* Two Members of the *Coté-droit*, M. *Calvet* and M. *Froudieres*, were committed to priſon for three days, for having, in the courſe of this debate, expreſſed too warmly their indignation at the manœuvres of the factious. It was alſo in this Sitting that *Chabot*, on being threatened by M. *de Jaucourt*, in a whiſper, with a caning, complained of it to the Aſſembly, and exclaimed mightily againſt the cowardice there was in a Colonel's talking in that manner to a Capuchin. M. *de Jaucourt*, whom the Jacobins were for committing alſo to priſon for three days, diverted the motion by obſerving, very good humouredly, that as he had ſpoken very low, it was poſſible he might have been miſunderſtood by the ex-capuchin *Chabot*, who, at all events, was to blame for repeating publicly, what had been ſaid to him in the warmth of confidence.

than that of depriving the King of a brave and faithful guard, whoſe reſiſtance daunted in advance thoſe daſtardly conſpirators, although they could bring againſt them ſeveral thouſands of armed brigands, a great number of whom were always in their pay.

The ſureſt means, however, of rendering them formidable and powerful againſt the Palace, the attack of which was already projected, was, no doubt, to get rid of the King's guard; and it is but too probable that this was the chief motive which induced the Aſſembly to decree the diſbanding of it. They were reſtrained from paſſing a decree of impeachment againſt all the officers ſolely by the fear of provoking the whole corps to riſe againſt themſelves; on which conſideration, the impeachment was decreed only againſt the commander, the brave and unfortunate Duke of *Briſſac*, who was ſent off to Orleans, and afterwards maſſacred at Verſailles among the other priſoners of the National Court.

The King was perfectly ſenſible, that the motive of the decree for diſbanding his guard, was no other than to deprive him of the protection of thoſe brave men whom it was well known would defend his life

at

at the hazard of their own. He was extremely agitated; and the morning after the decree paſſed, he ſent for his Miniſters at an early hour, and communicated a letter to them, which he intended to ſend to the Aſſembly, announcing his refuſal to ſanction the decree: but they all refuſed to counterſign his letter, and conſequently it could not be ſent. His Majeſty then propoſed to go in perſon to the Aſſembly, and addreſs them in a ſpeech, in which he would give his reaſons for not ſanctioning the decree; but all the Miniſters refuſed to attend him to the Aſſembly: they even carried their baſeneſs or perfidy to the length of aſſerting, that every man of the guard would be maſſacred by the people, if they were not immediately diſbanded; and that every individual in the Palace would be endangered by his Majeſty's deferring to ſanction the decree. In ſhort, the unhappy Prince, without taking time to reflect, conſented to ſanction this fatal decree.

An hour after having ſigned his ſanction, he received my letter; in which, not knowing what had paſſed, I ſtrongly urged the neceſſity of his forcing the Aſſembly to adhere

here to the Conſtitution; which, in allowing the King to have a guard of 1800 men, had not given the Legiſlative Body any authority over it; reminding him that it was to the King alone that all complaints ought to be carried or addreſſed againſt the guard in general; and that the authority of the Aſſembly was limited to the receiving complaints, and to iſſuing decrees of accuſation againſt any individual of that guard who might give grounds for them, and who would of courſe be tried by the proper courts.

Before I received the King's anſwer, I heard, with equal regret and ſurpriſe, that the decree was already ſanctioned; and that the Duke of *Briſſac* had been ſent as a priſoner to Orleans. He had reſiſted the earneſt entreaties of his family and friends, who ſuggeſted to him the means of eſcape, and thought he could have no ſecurity for his life but by flight.

I received the King's anſwer that evening; it was written with his own hand on the margin of my letter, which was our eſtabliſhed form of correſpondence. With every letter I wrote, I ſent him back that which

which I received from him the day before, only taking notes from it; ſo that his letters never remained twenty-four hours in my hands. I propoſed this method to the King, to prevent his having any uneaſineſs about his letters. Mine were delivered to the King or Queen, and their anſwers brought to me by one of the Captains of the guard, whoſe zeal and attachment were known to them.

As I retained notes which could not be underſtood by thoſe into whoſe hands I was afraid of the originals falling, I am enabled to ſubjoin his Majeſty's anſwer to my letter reſpecting the diſbanding of the guards, which was in the following terms:

"Unfortunately, it is no longer time to "do as you propoſe; the Miniſters aſſured "me, that the ferment of the people was ſo "violent, that the ſanction of the decree "could not be deferred without expoſing "the guards, and every perſon in the Pa-"lace, to the greateſt danger. I gave this "ſanction much againſt my will, but the "evil cannot be remedied."

No remedy indeed remained after the decree was ſanctioned; and I was the more diſtreſſed

diſtreſſed at what had happened, as in ſpite of the defection of the Miniſters on this occaſion, I was convinced that great advantage might have been taken of the Aſſembly, could the King have been prevailed upon to have acted with energy; and my letter might have had ſome weight with him, had he received it before he ſanctioned the decree *.

I muſt not paſs over in ſilence a denunciation which was made during the debates that preceded this decree, and which, though foreign to the King's guard, was received with tranſport by the factious, as a proof of the plots of which they accuſed them with being the inſtrument. Some invalid ſoldiers appeared at the Bar on the 29th, and reported that all the commanders of the poſts of the Hotel had been ordered the day before to fall back, in the caſe of an armed corps, whether the King's guard or National guard, preſenting themſelves. The officers who had given the order being ſummoned, confirmed the report of the ſoldiers. "The "moment is come," cried *Couthon* with

* See Private Memoirs, Vol. II. page 258 to page 263.

conſter-

conſternation, " when the Aſſembly muſt " diſplay a great character. There exiſts a " grand conſpiracy, the center of which, " as we all know, is at the palace of the " Thuilleries." *Carnot*, the worthy rival of *Couthon* in cowardice, as well as in Jacobiniſm, alſo thought *that the moment was come for gathering cloſer than ever around the Conſtitution, which was the only thing to ſave all.* He confeſſed that it gave no permiſſion to diſband the King's guard, *but you may*, ſaid he, *ſuſpend them proviſionally, by informing them in a meſſage of your ſuſpicions, which no doubt they will participate.* But this propoſal was rejected with indignation; and while they were waiting the coming of the Governor of the Invalids, who had been ſent for, the factious, juſtly convinced that there was no more irregularity in diſbanding than in ſuſpending the King's guard, continued to vote for their being diſbanded.

The Governor of the Invalids, M. *de Sombreuil*, appeared at the Bar, and underwent the moſt circumſtantial examination on the order he had given. His declaration was in ſubſtance, that the communion cups had been ſtolen the day before out of the veſtry

veſtry of the Invalid chapel, and that the ſacramental wafers had been thrown upon the altar, a circumſtance which made it his duty to be doubly vigilant, and to take extraordinary precautions; that having heard that diſturbances were expected to take place in the following night, he had told the officers, that in caſe of a commotion, as the Hotel of the Invalids could make no reſiſtance againſt any one, it ought to be an aſylum for all, and that the National guard, Gendarmerie, and King's guard, ought to be received without diſtinction; that ſuch were the very words of the order, which he had given of himſelf, without having received any directions for it from any other perſon.

It was, no doubt, with the moſt laudable intentions that M. *de Sombreuil* refrained from making his declaration more frank and particular. He was not willing to ſay that the real motive of the extraordinary order he had given was to ſecure an aſylum for that part of the King's guard that were quartered at the Military School, and who, it was ſaid, were to be attacked in the night by a very large mob. He feared that a confeſſion of this kind, made at ſo critical a moment,

moment, might increaſe the averſion to the King's guard; but this well-meant reſerve was much more prejudicial by the ſuſpicions which it excited. M. *de Sombreuil* did not conſider, that by not explaining more clearly how the King's guard, who had no concern with the police of Paris, and no duty to do beyond the Palace, could be expected in the night at the Hotel of the Invalids, he left an opening for its being pretended that they were to go there only for the execution of ſome grand plot; and this conjecture, on which the orators of the *Coté-gauche* dwelt with great force, contributed more than all the other arguments to the paſſing of the decree for their being diſbanded.

The better to impreſs on the public the pretended juſtice of this decree, and the importance of its execution meeting with no delay, the ex-capuchin, *Chabot*, boldly promiſed the National Aſſembly, *and the nation at large*, the moſt authentic proofs of the exiſtence of a great conſpiracy againſt liberty and the Conſtitution, in the very heart of the Capital. For this purpoſe he read, in the Sitting of the 4th of June, a very long report, in which he aſſerted, as poſitive facts, all the abſurd ſtories that had been

ſpread

ſpread abroad of the project for carrying off the King, of that of diſſolving the Aſſembly, of the making of arms, the white cockades, aſſemblings of nobles and prieſts, &c. &c.; but the pretended authentic proofs which he adduced in ſupport of theſe aſſertions, were nothing more than informations given by unknown perſons, anonymous letters, and ſome ſigned, of which the accuſations were founded on conjectures or hearſays. As ſome of theſe denunciations charged M. *de la Fayette* and the other Generals, and tended to excite the ſoldiers to riſe againſt their officers, and the people againſt ſome of the Members of the Aſſembly, ſeveral deputies roſe to move that *Chabot* ſhould be reprimanded and ſent to the Abbaye. Although he was interrupted every inſtant with hootings, burſts of laughter, or reproach, he ſucceeded in getting through his report, and the Aſſembly ſeriouſly referred the papers mentioned in it to their Committees, except thoſe relative to the officers, which by the decree were declared deſerving of the utmoſt contempt.

In theſe circumſtances it appeared to me of the utmoſt importance to take, without delay, the moſt effectual meaſures for weakening

ening the influence of the factious in the debates of the Legiſlative Body, as theſe ſanctioned and propagated through thouſands of newſpapers all the impoſtures that agitated the people. In fact, the debates of the Aſſembly were nothing more than the exact echoes of the debates of the Jacobin Club: the ſame ſpeakers there repeated the ſame motions and the ſame harangues; nor did the remonſtrances or murmurs of the *Coté-droit* ſerve any purpoſe but to enſure the ſucceſs of them. The only reſource therefore remaining was to ſecure the galleries, and to employ their clapping, their hootings, and clamours, in ſupport of reaſonable motions, and againſt thoſe it was neceſſary to render unpopular. This plan was put into execution with great ſucceſs *, till it was diſcovered by the King, who ſuſpended the operations of it. I am convinced that great advantages at a cheap rate might have been gained by it againſt the Jacobins; and if ſo at this dreadful moment, when all the ſinews of the Government were deſtroyed, and there remained but one more

* The particulars and ſucceſs of this plan are detailed in my Private Memoirs, Vol. II. page 313.

crime to be committed to annihilate the monarchy, of how much greater importance might it have been, and how much more eaſily executed, during the firſt Aſſembly, before the frenzy of the Jacobins had miſled or enſlaved the public mind.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Aſſembly, afraid of the Pariſian National Guard, order an Army to be aſſembled near Paris, on the Motion of M. Servan—Petition of the Pariſian Battalions againſt it—Counter-petitions and Addreſſes—Santerre's Speech—Servan denounced by a ſmall Party of the National Guards—Their Addreſs to the Aſſembly—The Preſident grants them the Honours of the Sitting, which he is obliged to retract—The Coté-gauche leave the Hall, on hearing that the National Guards were bringing the Petition—Vergniaux's Motion againſt the Petition

—A groſs Libel, in which the King is inſulted, denounced to the Aſſembly—Rolland, Servan, and Claviere diſmiſſed from the Miniſtry—Rolland's Letter to the King—The diſgraced Miniſters applauded by the Aſſembly—Dumourier ill received—M. de Gouvion's death—Dumourier's Memorial on the War Department—Inſolent Addreſſes—The King's Friends alarmed—Dumourier's baſe Inconſiſtency and Reſignation—New Miniſtry.

THE Aſſembly, whoſe audacity increaſed in proportion as the means of reſiſtance or of ſecurity in the King's power became feebler, were not ſatisfied with having deprived him of the guard which the Conſtitution had given him; they dreaded leſt the National guard, who ſuperſeded them, ſhould not be more favourable to the projects of the factious; and this apprehenſion induced them to adopt eagerly ſuch meaſures as appeared beſt calculated to ſhake or intimidate the loyalty of moſt of the officers, and of ſome battalions that had boldly manifeſted their attachment to the Conſtitutional Monarchy

Monarchy and the King's perſon. They ordered, in the firſt place, an army of 20,000 men to be aſſembled in the neighbourhood of Paris. It was to be compoſed of National volunteers ſent from all the Departments of the kingdom. There could be no doubt that the choice of thoſe volunteers would throughout France be made by the Clubs of the Jacobins, whom the too well-grounded terror inſpired by their crimes had rendered abſolute maſters of all elections. Of courſe it was to be expected that this army would be nothing more than a vile and formidable collection of ruffians from all the Provinces.

This augmentation of the armed force, which, according to the Conſtitution, (Chap. III. Sect. I. Art. I. p. 8) could not be ordered but on a propoſal from the King, was decreed, on a motion which the Miniſter *Servan*, who had baſely ſold himſelf to the Jacobins, had the aſſurance to make of his own accord to the Aſſembly, without having mentioned it to the Council, or taken his Majeſty's orders upon it. He grounded this perfidious motion on a pretended neceſſity for providing for the defence of the Capital. But notwithſtanding the

compliments paid in the preamble of the decree to the National guard, *who*, it was there ſaid, *had ſo well ſupported the Revolution, and ſo well deſerved the thanks of the country for their unbounded devotion and continual ſervice*, they were not deceived as to the real deſign of this camp, and were extremely hurt at it. As ſoon as the ſpeech which M. *Servan* had made on this occaſion was known, it produced a violent ferment among moſt of the battalions; meetings took place, and a petition was drawn up, which was given in the next day's order to the Adjutant of each battalion, as that appeared the eaſieſt mode for collecting of ſignatures. It was conceived in theſe terms * :

" Legiſlators! the Pariſian National guard " have always fulfilled the duties of their " eſtabliſhment. Compoſed of the ſame " citizens who firſt diſplayed the ſtandard " of liberty under the auſpices of the Con- " ſtituent Aſſembly, they ſtill poſſeſs the

* It is not unimportant to know the principal circumſtances of this diſpute, which laſted till the fatal event of the 10th of Auguſt, and which may be reckoned in the number of cauſes that haſtened it.

" ſame

" ſame virtues and the ſame ſtrength. Le-
" giſlators! they grieve exceedingly. The
" Miniſter of War has ſaid to you, *the*
" *brave National Guard, conſulting their*
" *zeal more than their ſtrength, have*
" *eagerly undertaken a ſervice which does*
" *them honour, but which is too fatiguing*
" *in the preſent circumſtances.* In one
" particular he ſays true: the National
" guard have been unwilling to conſult
" their ſtrength. If they had done it,
" the ill-deſigners of whom they complain
" would long ſince have vaniſhed before
" them. No doubt likewiſe we have done
" only our duty, but we have done it. We
" voluntarily entered into important obliga-
" tions, and we have diſcharged them.
" We ſhall not dive into the Miniſter's
" motives—his motion robs us at once of
" the honour, and of the rights which the
" Conſtitution gives us. Does he think
" that the idea of the federation diverts the
" ideas more naturally excited by his pro-
" ject? Our brethren in arms, all the French
" have confidence in us: why would the
" Miniſter cauſe it to be thought that we
" had loſt it? Have we done ought amiſs?
" And do not our brethren in arms know

" that our immenſe population is adequate
" to our dangers, whatever they may be?
" There are fears of Brigands—it is us
" they fear. Let us be called upon, and
" the command of the law ſhall ſilence
" the panic that requires aſſiſtance. We
" ſwear union, energy, reſpect for the law,
" ſupport of the conſtituted authorities, vi-
" gilance, the maintenance of property,
" and war againſt the factious of every
" kind. Legiſlators! we petition for a re-
" peal of the decree, which was urged
" ſolely by the Miniſter of War."

Before this petition was preſented to the Aſſembly, a deputation from one of the battalions in which the Jacobins had moſt influence *, appeared, and denounced that a copy of it had been ſent from the Staff officers of the National guard to each battalion, with a letter inviting them to ſign it. The Preſident immediately granted the honours of the Sitting to the denouncers, and they croſſed the Hall amidſt the clapping of the galleries and a part of the Aſſembly. After a debate on the right of petitioning, and on the queſtion whether citizens inveſted with

* That of the *Petits Auguſtins*.

a legal

a legal authority, could make uſe of it to prevail on thoſe under their command to ſign any petition whatever, the Aſſembly decreed that the commanding officer on duty ſhould be immediately ſummoned to the Bar, to give ſuch information as ſhould be required of him reſpecting this petition, and the letter from the Staff officers. He appeared, and giving an account of the facts as I have ſtated them, was unanimouſly applauded by the Aſſembly, and alſo obtained the honours of the Sitting.

Although this petition was not yet preſented, the Jacobins ſet their engines to work to obtain a rejection of it. The buſineſs of the Aſſembly was almoſt every inſtant interrupted, either by letters from private individuals, boaſting of having refuſed to ſign it, or by counter-petitions and addreſſes preſented by deputations from ſome Sections, in which the *patriotic Miniſter* who had been the cauſe of the decree in queſtion, and the Aſſembly who had adopted it, were loaded with eulogiums and thanks. "It is not enough," ſaid the infamous *Santerre*, at the head of a deputation from the Sections of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, "to have a Conſtitution founded on equa-

"lity,

" lity, we muſt alſo, and particularly at a
" moment when pride, intereſt, and intrigue
" are preſſing round its cradle to ſmother it
" at their eaſe, we muſt, I ſay, keep up in
" all hearts this ſacred fire, this divine fire
" of patriotiſm. Slaves never aſſemble but
" to pay a ſhameful homage to crowned
" aſſaſſins; to gratify their caprice or their
" ambition. Free men aſſemble to ſtrengthen
" the ſweet ties of ſocial fraternity.
" You will always eagerly lay hold of what-
" ever may contribute to conſolidate that
" harmony, that fraternity. You have juſt
" proved it by adopting the plan propoſed
" to you by a patriotic Miniſter. We ſaw
" the enemies of equality turn pale, but in
" ſpite of their united efforts, the Pariſians,
" the men of the 14th of July, ſhall yet
" have the pleaſure of embracing their bre-
" thren of the departments. It is with
" them, in the midſt of them, in their very
" camp that we wiſh to plant the tree of
" liberty. Under its branches thouſands of
" defenders will be born: then let the in-
" triguers, the conſpirators, behold our tears
" of joy, or embraces—let them burſt with
" rage, let them die with deſpair—never

" have

" have the people taken a vengeance more
" worthy of their character."

In about a quarter of an hour after this deputation had left the Bar, there appeared at it five or ſix perſons, calling themſelves Members of the National guard, and ſubſcribers of a petition relative to the decree of the 7th of June. " We are not come," ſaid the ſpeaker, " to aſk you for the repeal
" of your decree, but we come to denounce
" to you the Miniſter, who by propoſing it
" has endangered the public ſafety, betrayed
" the nation, violated the Conſtitution,
" and ſlandered the Pariſian national guard."

This opening produced violent murmurs, for which the ſpeaker was ſoon requited by univerſal plaudits, when he recalled the ſervices and exploits of the National Guard. He then eſtabliſhed, by arguments founded on the Conſtitution, the different heads of accuſation which he had articled againſt the Miniſter of War. " Let it not be pre-
" tended," added he, " that we yield to
" the indignation which might have been
" excited in us by the calumnies of the
" Miniſter againſt the National guard, and
" his project for taking their cannon from
" them to give them to this corps-de-reſerve:

" No,

" No, I do not denounce him for his ca-
" lumnies, but for having thereby rendered
" himſelf the vile inſtrument of a faction
" who are rending the kingdom—of that
" faction that work up the people to rage
" and violence, who are wicked enough to
" deviſe every ſpecies of means to diſunite
" the citizens, who endeavour to oppoſe the
" cap of labour againſt the military helmet,
" pikes againſt muſkets, the countryman's
" frock againſt the ſoldier's uniform." This paſſage enraged the Jacobin party, at whom it was aimed. The Members of the *Coté-gauche* and the galleries riſing in a body, demanded in the moſt violent manner that the petitioners ſhould be driven from the Bar. " As to us," continued the ſpeaker unmoved, " the citizens of Paris, who
" were foremoſt in the recovery of liberty,
" we ſhall be able to defend it, at all times,
" againſt every ſort of tyrants; we ſtill
" have the courage and the ſtrength of the
" men of the 14th of July. We ſhall
" never be open to ſeduction; but we can
" aſſure you, that no force ſhall ſeparate
" us from our brave cannoniers."

Although the Preſident was a little embarraſſed by the conflict between the plaudits and

and murmurs produced by this petition, he nevertheleſs determined on admitting the petitioners to the honours of the Sitting, as had been done the day before with reſpect to the denouncing deputations from the Sections and the officers denounced. He, no doubt, thought that at a moment when the National guard were ready to divide into two parties, the Aſſembly ought not to expoſe themſelves to the danger of having the ſtronger againſt them, by too haſtily declaring in favour of either. But the Jacobin party, leſs accuſtomed to liſten to the timid counſels of prudence, than to ſee their audacity crowned with ſucceſs, were exaſperated at the reply which the Preſident made to the petitioners. The ſpeakers of the Girondiſt party, by whom the *Coté-gauche* were at this time directed, crowded to the tribune, crying out, that *it was not proper the Repreſentatives of the nation ſhould ſit beſide ſuch men as theſe.* Some were for turning them out of the Hall, others for arreſting them immediately, *as guilty of abuſing the right of petitioning, to come and ſlander, with inconceivable audacity, not only the Miniſter of War, but the Aſſembly,*

ſembly, the patriots of the Departments, and the National guard themſelves.

Theſe motions were ſtrongly oppoſed by a Member of the *Coté-droit.* "I too," ſaid he, "call for your attention to the ma-"nœuvres of every kind that are going on "about you: I too call for your vengeance, "for that of the law, on all incendiaries, "on all ſlanderers, on all the factious I "gueſs in vain at the grounds for the mo-"tions that are made; I can find none. Is "it ſlandering the Miniſter of War, to ſay "he introduced the decree of the 7th of "June? Is it ſlandering the Aſſembly, to "addreſs repreſentations to them on a de-"cree not yet ſanctioned? Is it ſlandering "the patriots of the Departments, to prove "that the Capital has no need of them for "its defence? I am ready to pay every "reſpect to the zeal and patriotiſm of M. "*Servan*; but ſince when have the Mi-"niſters become arks of the covenant, which "none can touch without being ſtruck with "death? The petitioners may have reaſoned "ill, but their petition is according to the "forms preſcribed by the Conſtitution, and "you have always conſidered the honours of

" of the Sitting as a right you cannot refuſe
" the citizens. Remember that you granted
" them to the ſoldiers of Chateauvieux,
" and do not compel me to puſh this com-
" pariſon farther." It was nevertheleſs decided by a conſiderable majority, that inſtead of admitting the petitioners to the honours of the Sitting, the Preſident ſhould enjoin them to withdraw inſtantly. They were no ſooner gone, than the decree propoſed by *Vergniaux* was put to the vote, and paſſed in the following terms:

" The National Aſſembly, fully confiding
" in the Pariſian National guard, willing
" to puniſh the affront offered to them, as
" well as to the National guards of the 83
" Departments, who make but one with
" thoſe of Paris; conſidering that it can
" only be through guilty manœuvres and
" criminal intrigues that the ſentiments of
" ſome citizens have been miſled, and that
" it is of conſequence to the public tran-
" quillity that the authors of them ſhould
" be known, refer the petition which has
" been read to them to the Committees of
" Legiſlation and of Inſpection united, to
" make a report as ſpeedily as poſſible on
" this buſineſs."

Intelligence

Intelligence was given at this moment that a deputation of the National guard was coming with their petition, having ſome thouſands of ſignatures. On this news, the Members of the *Coté-gauche*, unwilling to riſk the honour of the triumph they had juſt gained, roſe, and almoſt all of them quitted the Sitting, ſo that when the deputation was introduced at the Bar, it was obſerved that there was not a ſufficient number of Members to proceed with buſineſs. It was notwithſtanding decided that the petitioners ſhould be heard. The ſpeaker began with contradicting the aſſertion which had been advanced, that this petition had been ſigned by order of the Staff officers: he affirmed that it had been ſigned individually; *we only wanted time*, ſaid he, *to have received a much greater number of ſignatures. We ſtopped at* 8,000, *becauſe we were in haſte to bring it to you.* He then read the very petition which had been denounced to the Aſſembly in the preceding Sitting. Scarcely was it finiſhed, when *Vergniaux*, who had kept his place in order to ſupport the decree which his party had juſt obtained, boldly moved that this *pretended petition ſhould be referred to the Committees, with the*

the minutes of the Section, which proved that it had been hawked from door to door, and that a great part of the formidable mass of signatures was nothing more than a collection of names obtained from women and children.

The President not being able to put this motion to the vote, for want of a sufficient number of Members, admitted the petitioners to the honours of the Sitting, and broke it up before they had all come in.

The division made in the National Guard, by the decree relative to the formation of a camp of 20,000 men, grew more and more serious, and kept up an alarming ferment in the Capital. The groups of Brigands who assembled at the Palais-Royal and Thuilleries became daily more numerous, and their motions, borrowed from the libels that were profusely circulated by the Jacobins, were more atrocious than ever. One of those libels, entitled *The Fall of the Idol of the French*, was denounced to the Assembly on the 11th of June, in the Evening Sitting, by a deputy (*Delfaux*) who had heard it read in one of the groups at the Thuilleries. The King was alluded to in it in the following terms:

" This monſter employs his power and
" his treaſure in obſtructing the regenera-
" tion of the French; another *Charles* IX.,
" he wants to bring deſolation and death
" into France. Go, cruel man! an end
" will be put to thy crimes. *Damiens* was
" leſs culpable than thou: the moſt horri-
" ble tortures were inflicted upon him for
" attempting to rid France of a monſter,
" and ſhalt thou, whoſe attempt is twenty-
" five million times greater, be left un-
" puniſhed! But tremble, tyrants, there
" are Scævolas amongſt us, &c. &c. Shall
" we always ſleep the ſleep of death? Shall
" we crouch at the feet of deſpots? As the
" ſucceſſor of ſo many tyrants has broken
" all the ties which bound him to us, let
" us trample under foot this idol of
" Royalty——"

The Aſſembly did not think they could diſpenſe with appearing angry at theſe execrable blaſphemies, theſe regicide vociferations; but, inſtead of ſummoning to the bar the Department, the Municipality, or the Juſtices of the Police, and ſeverely reprehending the negligence with which they ſuffered ſuch horrors to be committed under their eyes with impunity, they contented themſelves

themſelves with referring the proſecution of them to the Executive Power; as if it would have become the dignity of the King to appear perſonally, or by the intervention of his Miniſters, the accuſer of thoſe contemptible villains, the denouncer of ſuch groſs and ſcandalous inſults.

Notwithſtanding theſe outrages and the violent ferment that prevailed, the King did not ſeem more diſpoſed to ſanction the decree relative to the formation of the camp of 20,000 men than that enacting the tranſportation of nonjuring prieſts; and the imperious and menacing counſels which the Miniſters *Rolland*, *Servan*, and *Clavieres* had the aſſurance to give him daily on this ſubject, made no impreſſion on his Majeſty. The three other Miniſters, *Duranthon*, *Dumourier*, and *La Coſte*, leſs violent Jacobins, and more affected at the King's misfortunes, paid him more reſpect and deference. This difference in their opinions, and particularly in their feelings, immediately divided the Miniſtry into two decided parties, extremely incenſed one againſt the other. *Duranthon*, *Dumourier*, and *La Coſte*, unwilling to give their antagoniſts time to raiſe a mob to ſupport them, made

haſte to ſtrike the firſt blow. *Dumourier* undertook to mention it to the King, and to propoſe to him three new Miniſters, the choice of whom they had agreed upon. The King aſſented with that readineſs one feels to get rid of a burden under which one is likely to be cruſhed. All that remained to be done, then, was to be certain that the three perſons intended for the Miniſtry would accept the offices. They who were to go out of place had yet no knowledge of it, but they were warned of it by the high tone aſſumed by their adverſaries, and by that air of triumph and ſecurity ſo difficult to conceal in ſucceſs, till a long practice in Courts has formed the habit. It was on this occaſion that *Rolland* had the inſolence to write to the King the famous letter which was drawn up by his wife*, and dictated by the baſeſt perfidy and the wildeſt Revolutionary fanataciſm. It was as follows:

"June 10th, in the 4th year of Liberty.

"Sire,

"The preſent ſtate of France cannot laſt "long: the violence of the criſis is at its

* "I compoſed the famous letter," &c. ſays *Citoyenne Rolland*, in her Memoirs, Part II., page 19.

"height,

" height, and it muſt terminate by a con-
" vulſion which muſt intereſt your Majeſty
" as much as it concerns the whole empire.

" Honoured with your confidence, and
" placed in a ſituation which compels me
" to ſpeak truth to you, I will dare to ſpeak
" it fully: it is an obligation you have your-
" ſelf impoſed upon me.

" The French have formed a Conſtitution
" for themſelves: it has created malcon-
" tents and rebels; but the majority of the
" nation wiſh to maintain it; they have
" ſworn to defend it with their blood, and
" they were overjoyed at a war that offered
" them the means of ſecuring it. The mi-
" nority, however, ſuſtained by hopes,
" have done every thing they could to obtain
" the ſuperiority. Hence this inteſtine
" ſtruggle againſt the laws, this anarchy,
" under which the good citizens are groan-
" ing, and of which the ill-diſpoſed take
" advantage to deprecate the new ſyſtem.
" Hence that diſunion every where ſpread,
" and every where excited, for none are
" neuter; all wiſh either that the Conſtitu-
" tion ſhould triumph, or that it ſhould be
" changed; all act to ſupport or to under-
" mine it. I will abſtain from examining

" what it is in itſelf, to conſider only what
" circumſtances require, and diveſting my-
" ſelf of partiality as much as poſſible, I
" will inquire what may be expected, and
" what it is proper to encourage.

" Your Majeſty enjoyed great preroga-
" tives which you thought appertaining to
" Royalty. Educated with the idea of pre-
" ſerving them, you could not with plea-
" ſure ſee yourſelf deprived of them; and
" the deſire of recovering them was as
" natural as the regret at ſeeing them anni-
" hilated. Theſe ſentiments, which are
" natural to the human heart, muſt have
" been taken into the calculation of the
" enemies of the Revolution. They have
" therefore depended on ſecret favour, till
" circumſtances ſhould permit open protec-
" tion. Theſe diſpoſitions cannot have eſ-
" caped the nation, and muſt have kept it in
" a ſtate of diſtruſt. Your Majeſty has,
" therefore, been conſtantly expoſed to the
" alternative of yielding to your early habits
" and private affections, or of making ſacri-
" fices, dictated by philoſophy and urged by
" neceſſity; conſequently, of encouraging
" the rebels by giving uneaſineſs to the na-
" tion, or of pacifying the latter by uniting

" with

" with it. Every thing muſt have an end, " and that of uncertainty is at length ar- " rived.

" Can your Majeſty now openly join " thoſe who are aiming at reforming the " Conſtitution, or will you generouſly de- " vote yourſelf without reſerve to complete " its triumph? This is the real queſtion, the " ſolution of which is rendered inevitable " by the preſent ſtate of things.

" As to the very metaphyſical queſtion, " whether the French are ripe for liberty " or not, the conſideration of it is of no " importance here; for the point is not to " determine what we ſhall be a century " hence, but to ſee what the preſent gene- " ration is capable of.

" Amidſt the agitations in which we have " been living for four years paſt, what has " happened? Privileges burdenſome to the " people have been aboliſhed; ideas of juſ- " tice and equality have been univerſally " diffuſed; they have made their way every " where; the people have by their opinion " ſupported the conſciouſneſs of their " rights; the acknowledgment of theſe " ſolemnly made, is converted into a ſacred " doctrine; and the hatred of the nobility,

" long ſince inſpired by the feudal ſyſtem,
" is become inveterate from the manifeſt
" oppoſition of moſt of the nobles to the
" Conſtitution which has deſtroyed it.

" In the firſt year of the Revolution, the
" people ſaw in thoſe nobles men odious
" from the oppreſſive privileges they had
" enjoyed, but whom they would have
" ceaſed to hate after the deſtruction of
" thoſe privileges, had not the conduct of
" the nobility ſince that time ſtrengthened
" all the reaſons for dreading and combating
" them as an irreconcilable enemy.

" The attachment to the Conſtitution
" has increaſed in the ſame proportion: the
" people are not only indebted to it for bene-
" fits of which they are ſenſible, but be-
" lieve that it has greater in ſtore for them,
" as they who were accuſtomed to make
" them bear all the burdens, are taking ſo
" much pains to deſtroy or modify it.

" The declaration of rights is become a
" political Goſpel, and the French Con-
" ſtitution a religion, for which the people
" are ready to die. As a proof of which,
" zeal has already gone ſo far as to aid the
" law, and when the reſtraints of this have
" not been ſufficient to curb the unruly, the

" citizens

" citizens have taken upon themſelves to
" puniſh them. Thus have the eſtates of
" Emigrants, or of perſons known to be of
" their party, been expoſed to the ravages
" inſpired by vengeance; and it is for this
" reaſon that ſo many Departments have
" been forced to uſe rigour againſt the
" prieſts proſcribed by opinion, and to
" which they would have fallen victims.

" In this claſh of intereſts, the feelings
" have all taken the tone of paſſion. The
" Country is not a word which the imagina-
" tion takes delight in embelliſhing; it is a
" being to which the people have made
" ſacrifices, to which they become every
" day more attached from the ſolicitude it
" cauſes, which they have created by great
" efforts, which riſes amidſt troubles, and
" which they love as much for the ſufferings
" it coſts them, as for the hope it holds
" out. Every attack made upon it but in-
" creaſes enthuſiaſm.

" To what a height muſt this enthuſiaſm
" riſe, at a moment when the armies of
" confederated foes abroad are conſpiring
" with internal intrigues to ſtrike a mortal
" blow?

" In every part of the Empire the fer-

" ment

" ment is extreme, and will break out in a
" terrible manner, unleſs it be made to ſub-
" ſide by a ſatisfactory confidence in the
" intentions of your Majeſty. But that
" confidence will not be eſtabliſhed on pro-
" teſtations; it can no longer have any
" foundation but on facts.

" It is evident to the French nation that
" their Conſtiution can proceed, and that
" the Government will poſſeſs all the
" ſtrength it wants from the moment that
" your Majeſty, fully bent on the triumph
" of this Conſtitution, ſhall ſupport the
" Legiſlative Body with the entire force of
" the Executive Power, and ſhall remove
" all grounds of uneaſineſs from the people,
" and all hope from the diſſatisfied.

" For inſtance: two important decrees
" have been paſſed, both of eſſential con-
" cern to the public tranquillity, and to the
" ſafety of the State. The delay of ſanc-
" tioning them creates diſtruſt: if longer
" continued it will produce diſaffection;
" and I am bound to ſay, that, in the pre-
" ſent ſtate of effervescence, diſaffection
" may lead to any thing.

" It is no longer time to recede, there is
" not even any farther means of temporiz-
ing.

"ing. The Revolution is effected in the "public mind, and it will be accompliſhed "and cemented by blood, if wiſdom does "not prevent evils which it is ſtill poſſible "to avoid.

"I know it may be thought that every "thing may be effected and managed by ex-"treme meaſures; but, ſhould a force be "drawn out to awe the Aſſembly, ſhould ter-"ror be ſpread through Paris, and its environs "be diſmayed and divided, all France "would riſe with indignation, and, plung-"ing into the horrors of a civil war, diſ-"play that gloomy energy, the mother of "virtues and of crimes, always fatal to "thoſe who call it forth.

"The ſafety of the State, and your Ma-"jeſty's happineſs, are cloſely connected; "no power can ſeparate them; pangs and "calamities will aſſuredly beſet your throne, "if it is not reſted by yourſelf upon the "baſis of the Conſtitution, and eſtabliſhed "in the peace which the ſupport of it would "procure us.

"Thus the ſtate of the public mind, the "courſe of things, reaſons of policy, your "Majeſty's intereſt, render it indiſpenſable

"for

" for you to unite with the Legiſlative
" Body, and comply with the wiſh of the
" nation; they make that a neceſſity which
" principle enjoins as a duty; but the ſen-
" ſibility natural to this affectionate people
" are ready to find in it a motive for their
" gratitude. You were cruelly deluded,
" Sire, when your mind was alienated from
" them, when you were inſpired with diſ-
" truſt of a people whoſe feelings are ſo
" eaſily affected; it is by perpetual har-
" raſſing that you have been led to a con-
" duct ſuited to alarm them. Let them
" ſee that you are reſolved to enforce the
" Conſtitution on which they build their
" happineſs, and you will ſoon become the
" object of their acknowledgments.

" The conduct of the prieſts in many
" places, and the pretexts which fanata-
" ciſm furniſhes to the diſſatisfied, have
" cauſed a wiſe law againſt diſturbers of
" the peace to be decreed; let your Ma-
" jeſty's ſanction be given to it; the public
" tranquillity demands it, and the ſafety of
" the prieſts urges it. If this law be not
" put in force, the Departments will be
" compelled to ſubſtitute, as they are doing

" every

" every where, violent meaſures, and the
" people, exaſperated, will ſupply the want
" of [illegible] by exceſſes.

" The attempts of our enemies, the agi-
" tations that have appeared in the Capital,
" the extreme uneaſineſs occaſioned by the
" conduct of your guard, and kept up by
" the teſtimony of ſatisfaction given to
" them by your Majeſty in a proclamation
" truly impolitic on the occaſion, the ſitua-
" tion of Paris, and the ſhortneſs of its
" diſtance from the frontiers, have evinced
" the neceſſity of a camp in the neighbour-
" hood. This meaſure, the wiſdom and
" urgency of which have ſtruck all diſ-
" cerning minds, now only waits your Ma-
" jeſty's ſanction. Why muſt delay give
" you an appearance of regret, when diſ-
" patch would make all hearts your own?
" Already have the attempts of the Staff
" officers of the Pariſian National Guard
" againſt this meaſure raiſed a ſuſpicion
" that they acted under a ſuperior influence;
" already do the declamations of ſome extra-
" vagant demagogues awaken notions of a
" connection between them and thoſe in-
" tereſted in the overthrow of the Conſti-
" tution; already are your Majeſty's inten-

" tions

" tions brought into queſtion; a little more
" delay, and the nation with grief will be-
" hold in their King the friend and accom-
" plice of the conſpirators.

" Juſt Heaven! have you ſtruck the
" Powers of the Earth with blindneſs, and
" are they never to have councils but ſuch
" as lead them to their ruin?

" I know that the auſtere language of
" truth is rarely welcome near a throne; I
" know too that it is becauſe it is ſcarcely
" ever heard there that Revolutions become
" neceſſary; I know particularly that I
" ought to uſe it to your Majeſty, not only
" as a citizen ſubject to the laws, but as a
" Miniſter honoured with your confidence,
" or inveſted with functions which imply
" it; and I know nothing that can prevent
" my fulfilling a duty which my conſcience
" dictates.

" It is on the ſame principle that I ſhall
" repeat to your Majeſty my repreſentations
" on the obligation and utility of executing
" the *law* which enjoins the appointment
" of a ſecretary to the Council. The very
" exiſtence of the *law* ſpeaks ſo powerfully,
" that the execution ought, it ſhould ſeem,
" to follow without delay; but it is of im-
" portance

" portance to uſe every means to give the
" requiſite gravity, wiſdom, and maturity
" to the deliberations; and for reſponſible
" Miniſters there ſhould be a means of
" proving their counſels; had any ſuch ex-
" iſted, I ſhould not now addreſs myſelf in
" writing to your Majeſty.

" Life is nothing to the man who eſteems
" his duty above all other concerns; but
" next to the happineſs of performing it,
" he is moſt ſenſible of that of having it
" in his power to prove that he performed it
" faithfully, and even this a public man is
" bound to do.

Signed " ROLLAND."

Rolland, and the two Miniſters who had joined him, had, no doubt, flattered themſelves that the dread of this letter's being made public, would prevent, or at leaſt retard their diſgrace; but their hopes were completely deceived. The King, incenſed at this exceſs of audacity, immediately determined not to poſtpone the diſmiſſion of thoſe three Miniſters, and they next day received an order to give up the portfolios of their Department to their ſucceſſors.

As

As ſoon as this determination was taken, and before it had tranſpired, I was acquainted with it by a letter I received from the King, in anſwer to one I had written to him the day before, to aſk his commands reſpecting a very virulent pamphlet againſt *Dumourier*, but which the author did not chooſe to publiſh, unleſs he knew the King would not diſapprove of it. The King wrote on the margin oppoſite to this part of my letter the following anſwer:

" Prevent any thing being publiſhed " againſt *Dumourier*; he conducts him- " ſelf well at preſent; he has juſt aſſiſted " me in getting rid of the three Miniſters, " who wanted to force me to ſanction the " two decrees."

The three diſmiſſed Miniſters announced their diſgrace to the Legiſlative Body in letters full of patriotic lamentations. Supported by their conſciences, and proud of the purity of their devotion to the public, they believed, they ſaid, that they might depend upon the continuance of the favour of the Aſſembly; and, indeed, none had a greater right to the protection of the factious, who compoſed the majority of it.

The

The *Coté-gauche*, of courſe, burſt into the moſt violent murmurs on the reading of theſe letters, and uttered the moſt indecent declamations on the pretended perfidy of the manœuvres which had occaſioned the diſmiſſion of *theſe citizen Miniſters, whoſe merit, integrity, and ſervices could not be called in queſtion.* A motion was made for decreeing immediately that theſe three Miniſters carried with them the eſteem and regret of the nation; and it paſſed almoſt unanimouſly, accompanied with plaudits from the Aſſembly and galleries. It was at the ſame time decided that this decree ſhould be ſent to the 83 Departments.

Rolland had not forgotten to annex to his letter a copy of that he had ſent to the King. It was heard with enthuſiaſm, and interrupted at the moſt inſolent expreſſions by the loudeſt plaudits and ſhouts of *bravo.* The Aſſembly completed the ſcandal of this Sitting, by decreeing that a copy of this letter ſhould be ſent to all the Departments.

Scarcely were theſe decrees paſſed, when *Dumourier* appeared in the Aſſembly, not as the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, but as the ſucceſſor of *Servan* in the War department. This new capacity, and the part he

was known to have taken in the diſgrace of the three patriotic Miniſters, had raiſed ſo violent a diſguſt againſt him, that it broke out on his entering the Hall, in long hootings and the moſt inſulting murmurs. He was not diſconcerted, and began by reading a letter from M. *de la Fayette*, giving an account of the manner in which he had ſuſtained and repelled a ſpirited attack that had been made upon his vanguard in the morning of the 11th of June. The ſucceſs had unfortunately been obtained with the loſs of ſeveral diſtinguiſhed officers, among whom was M. *de Goution*, the particular friend and old brother officer of M. *de la Fayette*, to whom his military knowledge, counſels, and ſervices had always been very important. The General therefore greatly lamented his death: "a cannon ball has put an end "to ſo virtuous a life. He is bewailed by "his ſoldiers, by the whole army, and by "all who know the value of a pure civiſm, "an unſhaken loyalty, and the union of "courage and talents. I do not ſpeak of "my private grief, my friends will pity "me."

The Aſſembly ſeemed to ſhare theſe feelings, and expreſſed them in their Minutes.

They

They even charged their Preſident to acquaint M. *de Gouvion*'s family with the tribute of juſt regret they paid his memory *.

Dumourier next read a very long memorial on the War department. He aſſerted, and took pains to prove, that the chief parts of the adminiſtration of it were in a very alarming ſituation; that all the Generals were complaining, and with reaſon, of the weakneſs and bad condition of their armies; that they were all in want of arms, clothing, ammunition, and horſes; that the troops of the line alone, required for the complement of the four armies, amounted to more than forty thouſand men, and eight or ten thouſand horſes; that moſt of the fortified towns were as much diſmantled as in time of peace; that they had neither proviſions nor ammunition enough; that ſeveral commanders and officers in the different armies were ſuſpected, or enemies; that ſeveral

* Theſe regrets were the more appropriate, as the death of M. *de Gouvion* might principally be charged to the Aſſembly; for it may be remembered that he was one of their Members, and reſigned his ſeat as a deputy to join the army, on account of the honours which, in ſpite of his remonſtrances, had been decreed to the ſoldiers of Chateauvieux, who, in the affair of Nancy, had maſſacred his brother.

frontier Municipalities, and ſome of the Commiſſaries, Clubs, and ſtorekeepers were either ſold, or ſuſpected. He alſo denounced the want of regulation in the War Office, the diſorder exiſting in the details, the ſlowneſs of the expeditions, &c. &c. He expoſed likewiſe ſeveral fraudulent bargains, and particularly that of the platoon horſes. He then took a view of the different operations and military meaſures adopted by the Aſſembly on the advice of his predeceſſors, and particularly M. *Servan*. He greatly praiſed his zeal and his patriotic views, but complained that his means of execution were inadequate. He recapitulated all the levies of men required or decreed *one after the other*, amounting to 245,280 men, including the 20,000 to form the camp in the neighbourhood of Paris. He demonſtrated the impoſſibility of making ſuch immenſe levies ſo rapidly as had been mentioned. He inſiſted upon the neceſſity of applying the firſt of them for the complement of the army, which required no leſs than 50,000 men; and for filling up the 180 battalions of National volunteers, for which there were wanting 40,600 men. He repreſented, likewiſe, that this prodigious levy would not be

be completed in the courſe of the whole year, as the firſt levy of National volunteers had taken more than ſix months; although much leſs conſiderable.

"The levy of the whole nation," ſaid he, "preſents a grand and very energetic idea; "but it wants preciſion, and is impracti- "cable, becauſe there are neither arms "enough, proviſions enough, nor ammu- "nition enough. It was by a ſimilar mea- "ſure that the imprudent *Vandernoot* ex- "hauſted in a fortnight all the reſources of "the Belgic Provinces againſt a handful of "Auſtrians. He ſet up the ſame cry of "war; 80,000, at leaſt, aſſembled ſpeedily at "his call, and were diſperſed ſtill more "ſpeedily by 12 or 15,000 Auſtrians. Did "the Miniſter begin by aſſigning funds for "each object? M. *Servan* contented him- "ſelf with obtaining ſeveral decrees, and "relied for the execution of them on the "care of the Departments, Diſtricts, and "Municipalities, who could not underſtand "any thing of military affairs: thus, far "from decreaſing by this the weight of "reſponſibility, he has added to it the bur- "den of all the tardineſs with which the "Adminiſtrative bodies have carried on theſe

" different levies." He then gave a view of what ought to have been done, and what remained to be done, by the Minister of War; and concluded his memorial, or report, with ſome obſervations on diſcipline, on the reſponſibility of Miniſters, and on the importance of the Legiſlative Body's maintaining the full powers of the conſtituted authorities, attending to the execution of the laws, and ſupporting the Executive power.

" It is time," ſaid he, as he concluded, " that all factions ſhould be ſilent at the " danger of the country. Let us not re- " ſemble thoſe ſailors who intoxicate them- " ſelves at the height of a ſtorm, and ſuf- " fer their veſſel to founder. Let us collect " around the tree of liberty; above all, let " us not ſhake the Conſtitution; that ſacred " charter ought to unite us all. As ſoon as " the ſuſpicions which have too often " clouded the intelligence of this auguſt " Senate ſhall diſperſe—as ſoon as the two " Powers, by eſtabliſhing a good under- " ſtanding between them, ſhall ſincerely " unite in acting for the good of the State, " the hope of the French people will be " completely raiſed, and then France will

" be

" be able to reſiſt all the enemies that ſhall " attack her, and conquer them: but we " are ſuffering every misfortune, and we " ſhall deſerve to ſuffer, if from this mo- " ment there is not in France a firm Legiſ- " lature and an active Government *."

The reading of this memorial was ſeveral times interrupted by violent murmurs. *Dumouriez* was accuſed not only of inaccuracy, but of calumny. It was hardly to be conceived, that as he had had the papers of the War Department but a few hours, he could have compoſed and dictated ſo circumſtantial a memorial; and it ſeemed ſtill leſs poſſible that he could have had time to aſcertain all the facts he had advanced. He appeared to ſcorn theſe injurious ſuppoſitions, and made no other reply to them than ſigning his memorial, which he laid haughtily enough on the table as he went out. No ſooner had he left the Hall, than his conduct was loudly and ſeverely cenſured by the factious, who were the friends of *Servan*, and whom he had exaſperated. " If the new

* This memorial is reported in the *Moniteur* of the 16th of June 1792, page 699, firſt and following columns.

" War Miniſter," ſaid they, " is not the
" meaneſt of impoſtors, he muſt be the moſt
" guilty of traitors; for it would appear by
" his memorial, that he adviſed a declara-
" tion of war at a moment when the ill
" condition of our armies and frontier towns
" does not enable the nation to ſupport it.
" He ought therefore to be puniſhed either as
" a ſlanderer or as a traitor to the country."
After ſome other declamations of the ſame kind, the Aſſembly broke up the Sitting without coming to any reſolution either on the Miniſter's memorial, or on the motions made againſt him.

Thus, by too much hurry, a ſtep which would inevitably have produced a very advantageous effect, had it been well timed and better combined, was rendered more injurious than uſeful. *Dumourier* ought not to have appeared before the Aſſembly on an occaſion in which he could not but be ill received; and it was no leſs imprudent to attack *Servan* at a moment when he was ſo powerfully protected by the diſcontent his diſgrace had occaſioned, and by the extravagant enthuſiaſm which it had excited in his favour. It would have been much wiſer to have waited till the decree, proclaiming him

him worthy of the eſteem and regret of the nation, had been ſent into all the Departments. That would have been the moment to manifeſt to the Aſſembly, not by bare aſſertions, which are always liable to be ſuppoſed lightly advanced, but by a denunciation in form, that they had not only beſtowed on the diſmiſſed Miniſters more honour than they deſerved, but that they ought to paſs a decree for the impeachment of *Servan* and *Claviere*; and they could not have refuſed it, had the fraudulent bargains made by the War department, and the numberleſs rogueries committed in the department of the Finances, been eſtabliſhed by authentic proofs, which are always eaſy to be procured againſt colluding Miniſters, when no longer in office. Nor would it have been difficult to find a certain number of perſons of irreproachable character, who on ſuch proofs would have agreed to ſign the denunciation, and ſend it to the King and the Legiſlative Body. It would have torn off the maſk of patriotiſm which thoſe two villains had put on, and the Aſſembly, diſcredited by the honours they had granted them, would have entirely loſt their popularity had they continued to protect them.

As

As for *Rolland*, the ſtupid inſtrument of his wife—a creature as full of intrigue as of wit—his own inſignificance, his groſs ruſticity, and the inſolent letter he had ſent to the King, would have been enough, in the eyes of all rational men, to juſtify his Majeſty in having driven from his Council this once petty overſeer of manufactures, whom Madame *Rolland* had made a patriot, and whom the Jacobins had made a Miniſter.

The decree paſſed in favour of the three diſmiſſed Miniſters became the ſignal for a multitude of addreſſes from Clubs, Sections, Municipalities, &c. &c. in which the ſame ſentiments were expreſſed with ſtill more inſolence reſpecting the King. In ſome they even went ſo far as to call upon his Majeſty to abdicate the crown; to this others again added the advice *of not allowing his Council to be influenced by perſons of a ſex which the Conſtitution had wiſely excluded from the Government, as it was their part to confine themſelves to domeſtic cares, and ſetting a good example of morals.* He was alſo exhorted to keep on his guard *againſt ſpecious moderation* (*moderantiſme*) and againſt the prieſts; nor did the

the Aſſembly bluſh to laviſh their plaudits on all theſe inſults.

This increaſe of audacity was too rapid, not to excite the moſt anxious alarm in perſons ſincerely devoted to the King. How many might I not mention, who, without any connexion with me previous to that time, but confiding in my zeal and loyalty, came and expreſſed to me their uneaſineſs, and their wiſhes to defend the Royal Family at the hazard of their lives, if there ſhould be occaſion for it! On the other hand, the deſire of knowing whether I was ſtill employed in the King's ſervice, and whether I had any funds at my diſpoſal, produced applications to me, of which ſome were of a very ſuſpicious, and others of a very intereſted nature *. I had fortunately acquired the habit of conſidering them all as ſnares laid for me, and I never paid attention to any but ſuch as promiſed advantage, without the ſlighteſt poſſibility of expoſing the King, whatever the iſſue of them might have been.

* In my Private Memoirs I have related two anecdotes of this kind. See Vol. II. page 267 to page 282.

Two

Two days after the diſmiſſion of *Rolland*, *Claviere*, and *Servan*, *Dumourier* perceived that their friends attributed the diſgrace of theſe three Miniſters entirely to him; that this idea alienated the majority of the Aſſembly from him and from the Jacobins; he therefore determined to ſacrifice every appearance of conſiſtency, and all conſideration for the feelings of his Sovereign, in order to regain his popularity. He muſt have been very ſenſible that the King never would ſanction the decrees reſpecting the camp and the prieſts, particularly that which regarded the latter; and although, ſo far from combating his Majeſty's repugnance, he had ſupported him in it, and inſtigated the diſmiſſion of the three Miniſters who were for paſſing thoſe decrees, he now had the baſeneſs and effrontery to propoſe to his Majeſty either to ſanction thoſe very decrees, or receive his reſignation. He added, that from the bad effect which the diſmiſſion of the Miniſters had produced, his ſervices would be more prejudicial than uſeful, if theſe decrees were not ſanctioned. It was in vain that his Majeſty remonſtrated againſt this unbecoming conduct. *Dumourier* perſiſted, and his reſignation was accepted.

I received

I received a letter from the King on this occaſion, in which he ſays:

"Only conceive the ſtrange inconſiſtency "of this man; after having perſuaded me "to diſmiſs thoſe three Miniſters, becauſe "they inſiſted on my ſanctioning the de- "crees, he now abandons me for perſiſt- "ing in the meaſures which he himſelf "urged*."

The King having accepted *Dumourier*'s reſignation informed the Aſſembly of it; who expreſſed their ſatisfaction at it by repeated plaudits. M. *de Chambonas*, the Field Mareſchal, was appointed to the Department for Foreign Affairs; M. *de Lajarre* to the War-Office; M. *Terrier de Monciel* to the Home Department, and M. *Beaulieu* to that of Patriotic Contributions.

* See Private Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 284.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XIX.

Plan conceived by M. de Lally Tollendal for reſcuing the King and ſerving France —M. de la Fayette takes a Part in it— His Letter to the Aſſembly—Uproar occaſioned by it in the Hall—Vergniaux and Gaudet's Speeches upon it—M. de la Fayette's Letter to the King—The Progreſs of the Manœuvres of the Jacobins —Duqueſnoi's Motion—The King refuſes his Sanction to the Decrees relative to the Tranſportation of the Prieſts, and to the forming of a Camp near Paris— Plan of the Girondiſts—The Firſt Body of

of Marſeillois arrive in Paris—Their Addreſs to the Aſſembly—Appearances of an approaching Commotion.

IT was about this time that M. *de Lally Tollendal*, who had become an Engliſh ſubject, returned to France with the hope of ſerving the unfortunate *Louis* XVI. He informed me that the baſis of the plan which had been entered into by himſelf and his friends was, to ſet the King at full liberty, to cruſh the Jacobins, to render his Majeſty the mediator between France and the reſt of Europe, and between the French and the French; then to reform the Conſtitution, limit the popular power by means of the people themſelves, and enſure to *Louis* XVI. the happineſs he ſo much deſired of uniting the liberty of the nation with the prerogative of the Monarch.

Though I admired the plan, I doubted the means propoſed for effecting it, when I heard that it depended on M. *de la Fayette*, who M. *de Lally* endeavoured to convince me was both willing and able to put it in execution: the project, however, was afterwards

wards put into my hands by M. *Malouet*, and tranſmitted by me to the King*.

In a ſubſequent converſation which I had with M. *de Lally* at M. *de Montmorin*'s, he completely removed my doubts reſpecting the ſentiments and intentions of M. *de la Fayette*. He read me ſeveral paſſages of a letter which that General meant to ſend to the Aſſembly, and which was only delayed on account of ſomething to be added to it relative to the changes that had taken place in the Miniſtry.

This famous letter, which was read in the Sitting of the 18th of June, is as follows :—

" At the entrenched camp of Maubeuge,
" June 16th, 1792, the 4th year of Liberty.

" Gentlemen,

" At the moment, perhaps too long de-
" layed, that I was going to call your at-
" tention to the public concerns, and to
" paint to you amidſt our dangers the con-
" duct of a Miniſtry, whom I have long
" cenſured in my correſpondence, I learn that,

* See Private Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 325, from the bottom to the end of the chapter.

" unmaſked

" unmaſked by their diviſions, they have
" fallen by their own intrigues; for, doubt-
" leſs, it is not by ſacrificing three col-
" leagues, whoſe inſignificance rendered
" them the puppets of his power, that the
" leaſt excuſable, the moſt noted of thoſe
" Miniſters can have eſtabliſhed, in the
" King's Council, an equivocal and ſcan-
" dalous exiſtence.

" It is not, however, ſufficient that this
" branch of the Government has been de-
" livered from a fatal influence; the com-
" mon weal is in danger; the fate of
" France reſts chiefly on her Repreſentatives;
" to them the nation looks for its ſafety:
" but, in forming a Conſtitution, it pre-
" ſcribes to them the only road by which
" they can ſave it.

" Perſuaded, Gentlemen, that as the
" rights of man ſerve for the fundamental
" law of every Conſtituent Aſſembly, a
" Conſtitution becomes the fundamental
" law of the Legiſlatures it eſtabliſhed, it is
" to yourſelves I muſt denounce the too
" powerful efforts which are made to lead
" you from that rule which you have en-
" gaged to follow.

" Nothing ſhall prevent me from exor-

" ciſing this right of a free man, from
" fulfilling this duty as a citizen; not the
" temporary wanderings of opinion; for,
" what are opinions that are not founded on
" principles? nor my reſpect for the Repre-
" ſentatives of the Nation; for ſtill more do
" I reſpect the nation of whom the Conſtitu-
" tion is the ſupreme will; nor the good-
" neſs which you have conſtantly ſhown
" me, for I wiſh to preſerve it as I obtained
" it, by an inflexible love of liberty.

" Your ſituation is an arduous one:
" France is threatened abroad and agitated
" at home; while foreign Courts avow the
" intolerable project of aſſailing your na-
" tional ſovereignty, and thus declare them-
" ſelves the enemies of France—internal
" enemies, intoxicated with fanatiſm or
" pride, cheriſh a chimerical hope, and
" ſtill teaze us with their inſolent malice.

" Gentlemen, you ought to repreſs them;
" and you will not be able but by being
" Conſtitutional and juſt.

" You no doubt intend it: but turn your
" eyes on what is paſſing in your boſom, and
" about you.

" Can you diſſemble to yourſelves that a
" faction, and that I may avoid all vague
" denominations,

" denominations, that the Jacobin faction
" have cauſed all the diſorders? I openly
" accuſe them. Organized as a ſeparate
" Empire in its head and in its Members,
" blindly directed by ſome ambitious leaders,
" this party forms a diſtinct corporation in
" the midſt of the French nation, whoſe
" powers it uſurps by ſubjugating their
" Repreſentatives.

" It is there that, in public Sittings, the
" love of the laws are denominated Ariſto-
" cracy, and the breach of them Patriotiſm;
" there the aſſaſſins of *Deſilles* are honoured
" with triumphs, and the crimes of *Jour-*
" *dan* find panegyriſts; and there again the
" murder that polluted the town of Metz
" has lately excited infernal acclamations.

" Do any hope to eſcape theſe reproaches
" by reſting on an Auſtrian manifeſto, in
" which this is mentioned? Are they be-
" come ſacred becauſe *Leopold* has pro-
" nounced their name? And becauſe we
" are to combat foreigners who interfere in
" our diſputes, are we not to deliver our
" country from a domeſtic tyranny?

" Of what conſequence to this duty are
" the projects of foreigners, their conni-
" vance with Counter-revolutioniſts, and

" their influence over the lukewarm friends
" of liberty? It is I who denounce to you
" this party; I, who, without ſpeaking of
" my paſt life, can reply to thoſe who
" would pretend to ſuſpect me: 'Come on,
' at this critical juncture, when the cha-
' racter of every one will be known, and
' let us ſee which of us, moſt inflexible in
' his principles, moſt obſtinate in his re-
' ſiſtance, ſhall beſt brave thoſe obſtacles
' and dangers which traitors conceal from
' their country, and which true citizens
' know how to eſtimate and to encounter
' for it.'

" And how ſhould I longer delay ful-
" filling this duty, when every day enfee-
" bles the Conſtituted Authorities, and ſub-
" ſtitutes party ſpirit for the will of the
" nation; when the audacity of incen-
" diaries impoſes ſilence on peaceable
" citizens, and drives uſeful men away,
" and when party devotion takes the place
" of private and of public virtues, which
" in a free country ſhould be the ſtrict and
" only means of attaining the chief func-
" tions of the Government?

" Having encountered all obſtacles, all
" ſnares, with the brave and perſevering pa-
' triotiſm

" triotiſm of an army, ſacrificed perhaps to
" conſpiracies againſt their General, I can
" now encounter this faction with the cor-
" reſpondence of a Miniſtry, the worthy
" production of their club; a correſpon-
" dence, of which all the calculations are
" falſe, the promiſes vain, the information
" deceitful or frivolous, and the counſels
" perfidious or contradictory; in which,
" after urging me to advance without any
" precautions, and to attack without means,
" they began to tell me that it was im-
" poſſible to reſiſt much longer, when my
" indignation repelled the baſe aſſertion.

" How remarkable the analogy between
" the language of the factious acknow-
" ledged by the Ariſtocracy, and that uſed
" by thoſe who uſurp the name of Patriots.
" They all wiſh to overturn our laws, re-
" joice in diſorder, oppoſe the authorities
" which the people have conferred, deteſt
" the National Guard, preach diſobedience
" to the army, and inſtil ſometimes diſtruſt
" and ſometimes deſpondence.

" As for me, Gentlemen, who eſpouſed
" the American cauſe at the very time that
" the Ambaſſadors of America aſſured me
" it was loſt; who, from that moment,

" have devoted myſelf unceaſingly to the
" defence of the liberty and ſovereignty of
" nations; who, on the 11th of July 1789,
" in preſenting my country a declaration of
" rights, dared to tell her, *that a nation to*
" *be free has but to will it*; I ſtand forth at
" this moment full of confidence in the
" juſtice of our cauſe, of contempt for the
" cowards who deſert it, and indignation
" againſt the traitors who would ſully it;
" I ſtand forth to declare, that the French
" nation, if it is not the vileſt in the uni-
" verſe, can and ought to reſiſt the con-
" ſpiracy of Kings which has been pro-
" jected againſt it.

" It cannot be in the midſt of my brave
" army that timid feelings can make their
" way: Here I find patriotiſm, energy,
" diſcipline, patience, mutual confidence,
" all the virtues civil and military; here
" the principles of liberty and equality are
" cheriſhed, the laws are reſpected, and
" property is ſacred; here neither calumny
" nor faction is known; and when I think
" that France has ſeveral millions of men
" who may become ſuch ſoldiers, I aſk
" myſelf, to what a degree of degradation
" muſt a nation be reduced—a nation im-
" menſe

" menſe in its population, ſtill ſtronger in
" its natural reſources than in the defences
" it derives from art, and poſſeſſing the ad-
" vantage of unparrelelled combinations
" againſt a monſtrous confederacy—before,
" the cowardly idea of ſacrificing its ſove-
" reignty, of bartering for its liberty, of
" making the declaration of rights an arti-
" cle of negociation, could have appeared
" one of the poſſibilities of the future,
" which is advancing rapidly upon us!

" But to enable us, the ſoldiers of liberty,
" to combat or die for her with effect, it is
" neceſſary that the number of the de-
" fenders of the country ſhould be imme-
" diately proportioned to that of its ad-
" verſaries; that the ſupplies of every kind
" ſhould be increaſed, and our movements
" facilitated; that the comfort of the
" troops, their proviſions, their pay, the
" care of their health, ſhould be no longer
" ſubject to tardineſs, or pretended ſavings,
" which turn out the very reverſe of eco-
" nomy.

" It is neceſſary above all that the citizens
" rallied round the Conſtitution, ſhould be
" aſſured, that the rights it guarantees will
" be reſpected with a religious fidelity, that

" ſhall ſtrike its enemies private or public
" with deſpair.

" Do not repel this wiſh, for it is that
" of the ſincere friends of your legitimate
" authority. Aſſured that no unjuſt conſe-
" quence can flow from a pure principle,
" that no tyrannic meaſure can ſerve a cauſe
" which owes its ſtrength and its glory to
" the ſacred baſes of liberty and equality,
" let penal juſtice reſume its Conſtitutional
" courſe; let civil equality and religious
" liberty enjoy the full application of true
" principles; let no encroachment be made
" upon the Royal power, for it is guaran-
" teed by the Conſtitution; let it be inde-
" pendent, for that independence is one of
" the ſprings of our liberty; let the King
" be revered, for he is inveſted with the
" National Majeſty; let him be free to
" chooſe a Miniſtry who do not wear the
" chains of any faction; and if there are
" conſpirators, let them be put to death
" only by the ſword of the law.

" In fine, let the reign of Clubs, annihi-
" lated by you, give place to the reign of
" the law; their uſurpations to the firm and
" independent exerciſe of the conſtituted
" authorities; their diſorganizing maxims

" to

" to the true principles of liberty; their
" wild fury to the calm and perſevering
" courage of a nation that knows its rights,
" and defends them: in a word, their party-
" views to the real intereſts of the country,
" which, at this moment of danger, ſhould
" unite all to whom its ſubjugation and
" ruin are not objects of atrocious enjoy-
" ment, or infamous ſpeculation.

" Such, Gentlemen, are the repreſenta-
" tions and petitions ſubmitted to the Na-
" tional Aſſembly, as they have been to the
" King, by a citizen, whoſe love of liberty
" no one will ſeriouſly diſpute; whom the
" various factions would hate leſs, if he
" had not raiſed himſelf above them by his
" diſintereſtedneſs; who would have pre-
" ferred ſilence, if, like many others, he
" had been indifferent to the glory of the
" National Aſſembly, and the confidence
" eſſential to them; and who, in ſhort,
" cannot better teſtify his own to them,
" than by laying before them truth without
" diſguiſe.

" Gentlemen, I have obeyed the dictates
" of my conſcience, and of my oath: I
" owed it to the country, to you, to the
" King, and above all to myſelf, whom

" the

" the chances of war permit not to poſt-
" pone obſervations which I deem uſeful;
" and I pleaſe my mind with thinking that
" the National Aſſembly will ſee in it a
" new teſtimony of my devotion to their
" Conſtitutional authority, of my perſonal
" gratitude, and of my reſpect for them."

Signed, " LA FAYETTE."

This letter was very much applauded by all the *Coté-droit*, and by a conſiderable number of the *Coté-gauche*. The order for printing it was paſſed by a very great majority; but the motion for ſending it to the 83 Departments produced the moſt violent remonſtrances from the heads of the Gironde party, who being the leading hounds in the pack of the Jacobin Club, had the greateſt intereſt in warding the attack made by M. *de la Fayette*. After many efforts, one of them (*Vergniaux*) obtained a hearing. " I think," ſaid he, " that it is of import-
" ance to the Conſtitution, ſo dear to M.
" *de la Fayette* and to liberty, which he
" has hitherto defended with ſucceſs, to
" diſtinguiſh between petitions or counſels
" that may be addreſſed to the National
" Aſſembly by ſimple citizens, and ſuch as

" may

" may be addreſſed to them by the Gene-
" ral of an army. When a ſimple citizen
" preſents a petition to you, or offers you a
" counſel, you ought to attend to him; he
" is entitled to this by the Conſtitution:
" but when a General wiſhes to give you
" opinions, and make repreſentations to you,
" I maintain that he can only do it by the
" organ of the Miniſter. If it were other-
" wiſe, I am not afraid to ſay that there
" would be an end to liberty. - I aſk you
" what the counſels of a General of an
" army are, if they are not laws? I do not
" here impeach the intentions of M. *de la*
" *Fayette*; I believe them pure, but I think
" it neceſſary alſo to defend the purity of
" principles even againſt the Generals in
" whom the greateſt confidence may be
" repoſed. I move that it be declared that
" there are no grounds for adopting the mo-
" tion for ſending M. *de la Fayette*'s letter
" to the 83 Departments."

This ſpeaker, one of the moſt remarkable produced by the Revolution, was too ſkilful on this occaſion to neglect the circumſpection preſcribed to him as to M. *de la Fayette*, by the popular favour enjoyed by that General, and by the numerous plaudits

that

that had been beſtowed upon his letter. It was only by paying a compliment to the purity of the intentions which dictated it, that *Vergniaux* thought he could take the liberty of cenſuring the form of it. His motion gained ſome applauſe; but as that for ſending the letter to the 83 Departments evidently preſerved the majority, ſeveral Members of the *Coté-gauche* roſe and cried out together, that the ſignature was forged. *Gaudet*, another ſpeaker of the Girondiſt party, ſtrongly ſupported this aſſertion. "It is impoſſible," cried he, "that the "letter ſhould be M. *dé la Fayette*'s, as at "the time when it was written he could not "have known of M. *Dumourier*'s reſigna- "tion, which is mentioned in this letter; it "follows, that if the name be really M. *de* "*la Fayette*'s writing, it muſt be ſuppoſed "that the ſignature was here at the bottom "of a blank ſheet of paper, at the diſpoſal "of certain perſons who were watching an "opportunity to make uſe of it to the "greateſt advantage for the views of their "faction. Beſides, M. *de la Fayette*'s "ſentiments, which are known to all the "world, are proof enough that it is impoſ- "ſible he could have been the author of this "letter.

" letter*. When *Cromwell* dared to uſe a " language ſimilar to that which you have " juſt heard———"

So far the ſpeaker had proceeded, although interrupted at every ſentence by the contradictions of the *Coté-droit*, and by the plaudits of the *Coté-gauche*; but the laſt words excited throughout the Hall ſuch indignation, and produced ſuch a tumult, that the Preſident ſaw no other remedy for a diſorder ſo general, than to call the whole Aſſembly to order. Several Deputies deſired he ſhould be called to order himſelf, for having dared thus to fail in reſpect to the Legiſlative Body. This became a new ſubject of clamour and diſpute: at length, after a long

* The truth of the fact is, that this letter, which was written on two or three ſeparate ſheets, had been for ſeveral days in the hands of ſome friends of M. *de la Fayette*, who had ſent it to them, with the liberty of delivering it at the time they ſhould think moſt favourable, and of making ſuch changes in it as circumſtances might require. They made uſe of this liberty awkwardly enough, in altering the firſt ſheet of the letter, in order to make it correſpond with the laſt events that had happened in the Miniſtry, without conſidering that as *Dumourier*'s retreat could not be known to M. *de la Fayette* on the 16th of June, it was impoſſible he could have mentioned it in a letter dated that day.

uproar,

uproar, *Gaudet*, powerfully ſupported by the *Coté-gauche*, reſumed his ſpeech. "You "were at *Cromwell*," cried ſome of the Deputies; on which he again began the ſentence he had not been permitted to finiſh.

"I was ſaying," continued he, "that "when *Cromwell* uſed ſuch language, li- "berty was loſt in England; and I cannot "perſuade myſelf that the competitor of "*Waſhington* means to imitate the conduct "of that Protector. If ſuch were the "power of that party who wiſh to deſtroy "liberty in France, that M. *de la Fayette* "thought he might write this letter, which "I am very far from thinking, I ſay that "it would then behove the Aſſembly to take "ſuch a ſtep into ſerious conſideration. I "move therefore that the letter be ſent to "the new Commiſſion of Twelve, that the "Aſſembly may avenge M. *de la Fayette*, "by puniſhing the ſcoundrel who has taken "his name; and that they may prove to "the French nation, by a new and great "example, that they did not take a vain "oath in ſwearing to maintain the Conſti- "tution; for we have no longer a Conſti- "tution, if a General can dictate laws to "us."

This

This ſpeech almoſt entirely undid the effect which M. *de la Fayette's* letter had produced. It was pretty generally thought that it had been fabricated at Paris over a blank ſignature of the General's, and without his having any ſhare in it *. It was therefore not ſent to the 83 Departments, but to the Commiſſion of the Twelve, as *Gaudet* had moved.

The letter which M. *de la Fayette* wrote to the King, when he ſent him a copy of that addreſſed to the Aſſembly, does not leſs deſerve to be known. It was as follows:

" At the entrenched camp of Maubeuge,
" June 16th, 1792, the 4th year of Liberty.

" Sire,

" I have the honour to ſend your Ma-
" jeſty the copy of a letter to the National

* The very firſt ſentence of the letter was calculated to confirm this ſuſpicion; nor was it weakened by the obſervation that was made, that this ſentence did not mention *Dumourier's* retreat as having fully taken place, as M. *de la Fayette* could not have been informed of it but as an event which appeared to him inevitable. Nobody was inclined to believe that this General, who had been ſo often obſerved to want the commoneſt foreſight, ſhould all at once have acquired the gift of divining ſo juſtly what ſhould happen.

" Aſſembly,

" Aſſembly, in which you will find ex-
" preſſed the ſentiments that have animated
" me all my life. The King knows with
" what ardour and perſeverance I have at
" all times been devoted to the cauſe of
" liberty, and to the principles of huma-
" nity, equality, and juſtice. He knows
" that I have always been the adverſary of
" faction, the enemy of licentiouſneſs, and
" that no power which I thought illegal
" has ever been acknowledged by me: he
" is acquainted with my devotion to his
" Conſtitutional authority, and with my
" attachment to his perſon. Such, Sire,
" were the grounds of my letter to the
" National Aſſembly; ſuch ſhall be thoſe
" of my conduct towards my country, and
" your Majeſty, amidſt the ſtorms raiſed
" around us by hoſtile or by factious com-
" binations.

" It does not belong to me, Sire, to give
" greater importance to my opinions and
" actions, than what is due to the indivi-
" dual conduct of a ſimple citizen; but
" the expreſſion of my thoughts was al-
" ways a right, and on this occaſion be-
" comes a duty; and though I ſhould have
" performed it ſooner, if, inſtead of being

" in

" in a camp, I had remained in that retire-
" ment from which I was forced by the
" dangers of my country, yet I do not think
" that any public employment or private
" conſideration exempts me from exerciſing
" this duty of a citizen, this right of a free
" man.

" Perſiſt, Sire, ſupported by the autho-
" rity delegated to you by the national will,
" in the noble reſolution of defending the
" Conſtitutional principles againſt all their
" enemies: let this reſolution, maintained
" by all the actions of your private life,
" as well as by a firm and complete exer-
" ciſe of the Royal power, become the
" pledge of the harmony which, particu-
" larly at this critical juncture, cannot fail
" to be eſtabliſhed between the elected Re-
" preſentatives of the people, and their he-
" reditary Repreſentative. It is in this
" reſolution, Sire, that glory and ſafety
" exiſt for the country and for yourſelf.
" With this you will find the friends of
" liberty, all the good French ranged
" around your throne, to defend it againſt
" the plots of rebels and the enterprizes
" of the factious: and I, Sire, who in their
" honourable hatred have found the reward

" of my perſevering oppoſition, I will al-
" ways deſerve it by my zeal in the cauſe
" to which my whole life is devoted, and
" by my fidelity to the oath I have taken to
" the nation, the law, and the King.

" Such, Sire, are the unalterable ſentiments
" I preſent to your Majeſty, with my re-
" ſpect."

Signed, " LA FAYETTE."

The factious remaining in ſome ſort maſters of the field, by the addreſs with which they had repelled or eluded ſo ſerious an attack, no longer kept any bounds, and took leſs pains than ever to conceal the object of their manœuvres. One of them (*Duqueſnoi*) in the Sitting of the 19th of June, ſaid plainly, " Either the King is ſerious, " or he is not; either he has eyes to ſee, " or he has not. If he has eyes to ſee, he " ought to perceive the wickedneſs of thoſe " about him, and yet he has not diſmiſſed " a ſingle one of them; on the contrary, " he had a patriotic Miniſter, and him he " has turned away. It is time to tell him " that the nation is not ſatisfied with his " conduct; it is time to tell him that every " thing has an end, and that the Repreſen-

" tatives

"tatives of the nation are going to apply "to their Conſtituents, and to call upon "them to name Repreſentatives *ad hoc* to "ſave liberty from ruin."

The Aſſembly did not adopt this motion, but they paſſed to the order of the day without diſapproving it, and without cenſuring the plaudits it had obtained from ſome of the Members, as well as from the galleries. It is true, that they had juſt been informed by the Miniſter of Juſtice, that the King had refuſed his ſanction to the decree of the 27th of May, determining in what caſes the prieſts ſhould be tranſported, and the forms of doing it; and alſo to the decree of the 8th of June, ordering the formation of a camp of 20,000 men in the neighbourhood of Paris: and it was their politics to appear very much diſcontented at this refuſal. I was always of opinion that theſe two decrees had been paſſed with the hope of the ſanction being refuſed, and of the refuſal naturally leading to an inſurrection. The Gironde party flattered themſelves by this means to haſten the execution of their plan againſt the King and the Monarchy. A remarkable letter I received from M. *de Leſſart*, ſome days before thoſe decrees were iſſued, and

which I had communicated to the King, confirmed me in that opinion. It was in ſubſtance as follows:

"That a perſon, who had been under "great obligations to M. *de Leſſart* before "the Revolution, and who was then ſecre- "tary to *Condorcet*, paſſing through Or- "leans, had gone to the priſon to viſit his "benefactor, and had a converſation of "two hours with him; that in the courſe "of this converſation, M. *de Leſſart* hav- "ing queſtioned him concerning the pro- "jects of the Jacobins, the man, either "from motives of gratitude, or from the "idea that he had nothing to fear from the "indiſcretion of a priſoner, whoſe trial would "probably be drawn out to a great length, "immediately gave an account of all he "knew, on promiſe of ſecrecy. This ſe- "cretary told him, that the preſent object "of the ſecret Committee of Jacobins was "to form a plan of inſurrection for attack- "ing the Thuilleries, of the ſame kind "with that of the 5th of October 1789, "at Verſailles, with a view to drive the "King to abdicate the Crown, or to [redacted] "flight; that in either of theſe caſes they "were to name a Council of Regency, com-

"poſed

"poſed of the principal chiefs of the Ja-
"cobins; that if the King eſcaped this firſt
"inſurrection, without either abdicating or
"leaving the kingdom, it was their deter-
"mination to find ſome pretext for exciting
"a freſh inſurrection, with a view to ter-
"rify the National Aſſembly, and force
"them to declare the Crown forfeited, and
"afterwards to proclaim the Prince Royal
"King, with a Council of Regency; all
"which was to pave the way to what was
"the great and ultimate object of the Gi-
"ronde party, namely, the eſtabliſhment of
"a Republic, which they thought the nation
"was not prepared for at the preſent mo-
"ment, but were in hopes that it would
"gradually be brought to reliſh that form
"of government, and at laſt be brought to
"adopt it without a ſtruggle*."

I com-

* Such was, in fact, the real plan of the Gironde party, who then ruled among the Jacobins; but who, finding their influence decreaſing in their meetings, ſoon after forſook them, in the hopes of diſcrediting by this [illegible] the meaſures that were adopted there, the extreme violence of which counteracted their views. After the event of the 10th of Auguſt, the plot of which thoſe very Girondiſts had formed and directed,

I communicated this letter to the King, and burnt it as ſoon as he returned it to me, according to M. *de Leſſart*'s expreſs deſire. His Majeſty wrote to me in anſwer, "that "ſuch might be the ſcheme of the Jacobins; "but all that he could do was to endeavour "to evade their machinations."

The Pariſian populace had become, in the opinion of the factious, too tame, too indolent to be rouſed. The ferocious impetuoſity which they had diſplayed in the firſt months of the Revolution ſeemed to be exhauſted. Their civic outrages were almoſt all reduced to groſs inſults, and menacing vociferations againſt the Royal Family, the nonjuring prieſts, and the nobility; but murders were ſcarcely ever committed, and it was by ſtreams of blood that the grand event meditated by the Jacobins was to be

for the ſole purpoſe of forcing a decree for depoſing the King, they were forcibly carried much farther than they intended, becauſe they were with reaſon afraid of entirely loſing their popularity, if they dared to oppoſe the ſlighteſt obſtacle to the furious tranſports of the *Dantons*, *Robeſpierres*, *Marats*, *Collot d'Herbois*, &c. &c. who were determined on a Republic, and who [illegible] than three minutes, on a motion of five or ſix ſentences, managed to have the abolition of Royalty voted by acclamation.

effected.

effected. The means which they thought the moſt proper to revive the Revolutionary energy in the Capital, was to bring in a ſufficient number of ſtrange Brigands, and put them at the head of all the popular movements and expeditions. In conſequence, the firſt body of Marſeillois, compoſed of banditti armed with bludgeons, arrived on the 19th of June. They repaired in a deputation to the Aſſembly, who were holding their Evening Sitting; they were introduced at the Bar, and their Speaker read the following addreſs:

" Legiſlators!

" The French liberty is in danger. The " free men of the South are ready to march " to defend it. The day of the people's " wrath is at length arrived. That people, " whom it has always been the plan to " butcher or enſlave, is tired of parrying " blows; they will ſtrike them, and anni- " hilate the conſpirators.

" It is time for the people to riſe: that generous lion, provoked too far, is going to rouſe from his ſlumber, and ſpring upon the pack of conſpirators.

" The popular force conſtitutes your

" force: make uſe of it. Give no quarter,
" as you have none to hope. The French
" people aſk of you a decree which ſhall
" authorize them to march in more formi-
" dable forces than thoſe you have decreed.
" Give the word, and we will march to-
" wards the Capital, and towards the fron-
" tiers. The people are determined to
" conclude a Revolution that is to enſure
" their happineſs, their ſafety, and their
" glory. They are determined to ſave you,
" in ſaving themſelves. You will not re-
" fuſe the authority of the law to thoſe
" who would die to defend it."

The Aſſembly were not content with applauding this iniquitous addreſs almoſt as much as the galleries did; they decreed that it ſhould be printed and ſent to the 83 Departments, thus conſpiring with the brigands of Marſeilles to ſound the alarm bell of rebellion throughout the kingdom.

It was ſcarcely to be doubted that the arrival of the Marſeillois at Paris on the 19th of June had been combined with the popular commotion long projected by the Girondiſts, and the period for which was notoriouſly fixed for the 20th of June. The workmen of the Fauxbourgs St. Antoine

toine and St. Marceau had formally announced it to the Commune ſeveral days before, by a petition, the object of which was *to obtain permiſſion to aſſemble on that day in the dreſſes they wore in the month of July* 1789, *and with their arms, in order to go and preſent petitions to the National Aſſembly and to the King.*

The Council-general of the Commune had prudently refuſed to grant this petition, and had given as a reaſon for their refuſal, that all armed aſſembling was illegal, without a requiſition from public authority; and that the Municipal code, in permitting citizens to meet peaceably, and without arms, to draw up petitions and addreſſes, had added the condition of only twenty citizens being deputed to preſent them. The Directory of the Department being informed, that notwithſtanding this reſolution, and other precautions taken by the Municipality, the preparations for an armed aſſembling had not been diſcontinued in the Fauxbourgs, were apprehenſive that this inſurrection, re-inforced by the Marſeillois, might proceed to the moſt ſerious outrages, and they reſolved in conſequence, "That "the Mayor, Municipality, and Com-

"mander

" mander in Chief of the National guard,
" ſhould, without delay, take proper mea-
" ſures to prevent all aſſembling contrary
" to law, and make ſuch uſe of the public
" force as might be neceſſary to reſtrain
" and repreſs the diſturbers of the public
" peace: particularly recommending to the
" citizens of the National guards, and to
" all perſons compoſing the armed force,
" to hold themſelves ready to give aſſiſt-
" ance, if there ſhould be occaſion to re-
" quire it."

This reſolution was printed, and immediately made public, and the Miniſter of the Interior without delay ſent a copy of it to the Aſſembly. They received it juſt as they had decreed that the addreſs of the Marſeillois ſhould be printed and ſent to the 83 Departments.

The Girondiſts violently oppoſed the reading of this reſolution, pretending, that if after having read it the Aſſembly ſhould take no meaſure, it would be giving it a kind of ſanction, and would ſhield the Adminiſtrators of the Police under their reſponſibility; and that, beſides, the Aſſembly could not interfere in the conduct of the police, without openly ſubverting the order eſtabliſhed

eſtabliſhed by the laws. Notwithſtanding theſe remonſtrances made by *Vergniaux*, it was determined that the reſolution ſhould be read. But after they had heard it read, the Aſſembly, not being able to cenſure it, and not willing, or not daring to approve it, for fear, no doubt, of diſpleaſing the formidable Marſeillois, paſſed to the order of the day without any diſcuſſion.

This indifference, this cold ſecurity, at the eve of an inſurrection, the certainty and violence of which was indicated by every appearance, clearly demonſtrated that the Aſſembly had no fears for themſelves, and cared as little for the danger with which the lives of the King and Royal Family were evidently threatened. How, indeed, could they fear for themſelves the outrages naturally to be expected from the ſeditious ſentiments expreſſed in the addreſs of the Marſeillois? They had authorized them in advance; they had rendered themſelves accomplices in them by applauding that ſhocking addreſs, by undertaking to proclaim it in all the Departments.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XX.

The Outrages committed on the 20th of June.

THE Directory of the Department had perfectly performed their Conſtitutional duty, by the reſolution they had entered into on the 19th of June; and juſtice, as well as truth, calls upon me to give, in this place, the praiſes due to the conduct of all their Members on this critical occaſion, and particularly to that of the Procureur-Syndic, *Roederer*. Unfortunately his vigilance, zeal, and fidelity were as poorly ſeconded as

as it was poſſible. The whole evening was ſpent in ſeditious meetings and in Aſſemblies of the Sections, where the manœuvres of the Jacobins, and the violent declamations of their emiſſaries, cauſed motions the moſt incendiary and the moſt oppoſite to the reſolution of the Department to be almoſt generally adopted. The night was paſſed in preparing and collecting arms of every kind; the Municipality were informed* of it, yet remained inactive the next morning. The commanders of the battalions of the National Guard all went to the Mayor, and told him, that the intentions of the citizens were good, but that they inſiſted on going under arms becauſe the Aſſembly had ſeveral times before admitted armed petitioners. *Petion ſaw no inconvenience in authorizing the battalions to march under arms, and thought, or pretended to think, that by conſtraining the other armed citizens to fall in under the national banners, it would be all regular, and no infringement of the law.* I copy this from his own report. "This," added he, "is what was done, and I ſay

* See the report made by *Petion* in the Evening Sitting on the 20th of June.

"that

" that this is perfectly conformable to the " law."

Much has been ſaid of *Petion*'s ſtupidity, and I am far from calling it in queſtion; but it would ſurely be making him too ſtupid to believe that he were capable of arguing ſeriouſly in this manner. He knew, as all the world did, that when the Aſſembly permitted ſome armed gangs, who appeared as petitioners, to march into the Hall before them, it was from apprehenſion of their diſſatisfaction, and eſpecially from the fear of the uſe they might make of their arms, had they refuſed them the permiſſion of preſenting them. This act of condeſcenſion, or rather of puſillanimity, on the part of the Aſſembly, was a manifeſt violation of the law, but could be no abrogation of it, therefore nothing could excuſe the Municipality from obeying the injunction laid upon them by the Department for taking the neceſſary meaſures to prevent all illegal meetings. It is undeniable that they could purſue no other conduct without rendering themſelves reſponſible for the conſequences. Now let us ſee how they proceeded.

At five o'clock in the morning they ſent the following notice to the Directory of the " Department:—

Department:—" The Municipality and Administrators of Police being informed " that the citizens of the Fauxbourgs St. " Marcel and St. Antoine were marching " in arms, that the Sections had authorized " the battalion officers to head them, and " that the inhabitants of the environs were " determined to join them; had ſummoned " the battalion officers to give an account of " the circumſtance. They declared that " the citizens had only peaceable intentions, " but that they perſiſted in the determina- " tion of marching with arms. The Mu- " nicipality remonſtrated with the battalion " officers of the Fauxbourgs St. Marcel " and St. Antoine, who replied, that it " was impoſſible to make the citizens give " up their point. Is there no poſſibility of " taking a prudent part, by authorizing " theſe citizens to fall in with the National " Guards, and by making them fraternize " together? They appear no longer deſirous " of going to the Bar of the Aſſembly, or " to the King's Palace in arms."

The Directory ſent an immediate anſwer to the Municipal officers, informing them, " that their letter had produced no change " in their reſolution; that they were ſtill " determined

" determined not to compound for the law, " and that they perſiſted in their former " reſolution." Although the authority demanded by the Municipality was refuſed as formally as it was poſſible, they did not the leſs continue to encourage as much as they could the ſeditious mob that was gathering. I need cite no other proof on this head than the confeſſions inſerted in the report made by *Petion* to the Aſſembly on that very day.

" Some Municipal officers," ſaid he, " went to the aſſembled citizens and ha- " rangued them. The citizens replied, *that* " *it was not their intention to make a mob* " *or raiſe a mutiny.* The battalions de- " ſired to be called out. The Municipality " aſſembled, and thought that it would be " very imprudent, very dangerous, to ſuffer " 40,000 men to proceed under arms with- " out leaders; and they thought it their " duty to authorize the meaſure, and " manage ſo that the citizens might never " violate the law. The Municipality, there- " fore, called upon the battalions to turn " out, and the citizens were required to fall " in under the colours of the National " Guard." Thus then it appears, from the confeſſion of the Mayor, that the Munici-

" pality,

pality, inſtead of employing all the means at their command to prevent the aſſembling of the people, thought it their duty to authorize it, inſtead of calling upon the National Guard to diſperſe the mob, they called upon them to put themſelves at their head; and *Petion*, in whoſe eyes every thing appeared in fine colours on that dreadful day; could not but admire the ideal magnificence of the ſight preſented by theſe 40,000 armed petitioners. This was not the caſe with the Directory of the Department. Greatly alarmed at the reports that they had received during the night, and at thoſe which had induced the Miniſter of the Interior to cauſe troops to be marched without delay to defend the Palace, which was in imminent danger, they repeated to the Municipality and Commander of the National Guard the injunctions which they had laid upon them by the Reſolution of the day before. As ſoon as they heard that the people were collecting, they went to inform the National Aſſembly of it, and to expreſs to them their uneaſineſs. "It appears," ſaid the Procureur-Syndic, ſpeaking in the name of the Directory, "that this "multitude, compoſed of perſons differing

" in their intentions; have alſo ſeveral diſ-
" tinct objects in view; ſuch as to plant a
" tree in honour of liberty, to celebrate a
" civic feſtival in commemoration of the
" Tennis-Court Oath, to pay the Aſſembly
" a new tribute of homage, and give them
" new teſtimonies of zeal for liberty. Such
" is certainly the deſign of the greater part
" of this multitude; but we have room to
" fear that it may ſerve, without their
" knowledge, perhaps, to ſupport, by the
" ſhow of force, an addreſs to the King,
" which ought to be preſented to him as
" well as to every other Conſtituted Autho-
" rity, only according to the form of ſimple
" petitions. The law forbids all armed
" aſſemblings for the purpoſe of petition-
" ing, and even all aſſemblings not armed
" above the number of twenty perſons, with-
" out a permiſſion from the Municipality.
" The Municipal law of Paris is ſtill more
" preciſe on this point. Theſe laws, ne-
" ceſſary for the public tranquillity, and
" for that of the Legiſlative Body, are alſo
" neceſſary for the reſponſibility of the Ad-
" miniſtrative and Municipal Bodies, in
" order that that reſponſibility may not be
" at once uſeleſs to the public and oppreſſive

" to

" to them. To-day armed men aſſemble " on civic motives, but to-morrow there " may aſſemble a crowd of ill-deſigning " perſons. What could you ſay to them? " What oppoſition could you give to theſe " fatal aſſemblings? In a word, how could " the Municipality, how could we anſwer " for the public ſafety, if the law did not " give us the means, or if that which it " does give us be weakened in our hands by " the condeſcenſion of the Aſſembly in re- " ceiving large bodies of armed men?"

It is not unworthy of obſervation, that theſe prudent remonſtrances were oppoſed only by the two principal ſpeakers of the Gironde party (*Vergniaux* and *Gaudet*). " Why ſhould we wonder," ſaid *Vergniaux*, " that a collection of armed men ſhould " requeſt admiſſion into this Hall, when " we have already admitted ſeveral Sections, " and when no longer ago than yeſterday " we alſo received a battalion? It would be " wronging the citizens who now requeſt " to pay their homage to you to ſuppoſe " that they have ill deſigns, it would be " abſurd and imprudent to refuſe them the " favour they aſk, for the firſt law is that of " equality. We ought then to treat theſe

" petitioners as we treated thoſe who came
" before them; the more ſo, as their aſ-
" ſembling is in ſome degree ſanctioned by
" the cuſtom which you have introduced,
" and of which the example was ſet you
" by the Conſtituent Aſſembly. It is ſaid
" that they intend to preſent an addreſs to
" the King. It is my opinion, that they
" will not aſk to be admitted to him in
" arms, but that, conformably to the law,
" they will appear before him without arms,
" and as ſimple petitioners. Beſides, if
" it be thought that the King is in any
" danger, you ought to protect him, and I
" move that you ſend ſixty Commiſſioners
" to the Palace "

Another Girondiſt ſpeaker, meaning to remove all uneaſineſs upon this head, and to prove the inutility of the deputation propoſed by his colleague, declared that the ſpeaker of the petitioners had juſt called him out, and charged him to tell the Aſſembly, *that the citizens aſked only to be admitted to the Bar to preſent their petition; that it was true they had alſo an addreſs to preſent to the King, but that it was not their intention to deliver it to him perſonally; that they even formally engaged not*

not to approach his Majeſty's dwelling, but that they would lay their addreſs on the table of the National Aſſembly, who ſhould make uſe of it as they thought proper.

Several Members of the *Coté-droit* ſtrongly inſiſted on the execution of the law, and maintained, that however numerous the inſtances of the Aſſembly's admitting armed petitioners might be, not one of them could be cited as a precedent on the preſent occaſion; becauſe all thoſe petitioners might have conſidered the ſilence and inaction of the Conſtituted Authorities as a tacit approbation, whereas the Municipality had formally refuſed the preſent petitioners the permiſſion of arming themſelves, and the reſolution of the Department had expreſsly forbidden their doing it; that, beſides, their ill deſigns were the leſs doubtful, as notwithſtanding the charge which they had received from a Commiſſioner of the Police, they had ſet out with ſeveral pieces of cannon, which they had taken poſſeſſion of.

Theſe arguments the *Coté-gauche* and galleries anſwered with the moſt violent murmurs; nor were they quieted till a letter from *Santerre*, addreſſed to the Preſident,

was introduced to be read. This famous commander of one of the battalions of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, announced that the inhabitants of that Fauxbourg were this day celebrating the anniverſary of the Tennis-Court Oath, and requeſted to be admitted to the Bar. *They have been calumniated,* added he, *but they will once more confound their baſe detractors, and prove that they are ſtill the men of the 14th of July.*

This menacing letter was loudly applauded, and a great part of the Aſſembly ſuddenly riſing together, required that the petitioners ſhould be introduced. This motion the *Coté-droit*, in their turn, oppoſed with murmurs and ſhouts. The Girondiſt ſpeakers ſupported it with all the force of their lungs. The Preſident interrupted the diſcuſſion to inform the Aſſembly, that the commander of the guard had juſt informed him that the petitioners were at the gates of the Hall to the number of eight thouſand. Clapping, murmurs, and clamours recommenced, and the *Coté-droit* inſiſted on the execution of the law. The Girondiſts replied, that it could no longer be urged, as the Aſſembly themſelves had ſeveral times deviated from it. Twenty ſpeakers at once demanded to be heard

heard. The Aſſembly cloſed the debate. In the midſt of this agitation the deputation appeared at the Bar. Many of the Members cried out that they had no right to enter without being called, which they had not been. The tumult was now at its higheſt pitch. The Preſident put on his hat. The deputation retired. The Aſſembly, ſatisfied by this reſpectful condeſcenſion, decreed at length, by a great majority, that the petitioners ſhould be admitted. They returned, and the ſpeaker delivered a long harangue. The ſentiments expreſſed in it but too well juſtified the alarms which the Procureur-Syndic had manifeſted. Of this we may judge by the following paſſages :—

" In the name of the Nation, whoſe eyes " are fixed upon this town, we come to " aſſure you that the people are alert, that " they are equal to the ſituation of things, " and ready to make uſe of grand means " to avenge the majeſty of the outraged " nation. Vigorous means are authorized " by the ſecond article of the Declaration " of the Rights of Man, *reſiſtance to op-* " *preſſion*. How unfortunate, however, " is it for free men, who have committed

" all their powers to you, to ſee themſelves
" reduced to the cruel neceſſity of ſteeping
" their hands in the blood of conſpirators.
" We can no longer deceive ourſelves; the
" plot is diſcovered; the hour is come;
" blood ſhall flow, or the tree of liberty,
" which we are going to plant, ſhall flouriſh
" in peace. Do the enemies of the country
" imagine that the men of the 14th of July
" are aſleep? If they have appeared to them
" to be ſo, their awaking is terrible; they
" have loſt nothing of their energy. It is
" time, Gentlemen, to put into execution
" this ſecond article of the Declaration of
" the Rights of Man, *reſiſtance to op-*
" *preſſion*. Let the friends of arbitrary power
" declare themſelves! Let them ſtand forth!
" The people, the true ſovereign, is at hand
" to paſs ſentence upon them. Their place
" is not here. Let them evacuate the land
" of liberty; let them go to Coblentz and
" join the Emigrants. Enforce then the
" Conſtitution, the will of the people who
" ſupport you, who will periſh to defend
" you. Unite, act; it is time—yes, it is
" time, Legiſlators, that the French people
" ſhould ſhow themſelves worthy of the cha-
" racters which they have taken. They have

" overthrown

" overthrown prejudices; they mean to re-
" main free, and to deliver themſelves from
" the tyrants that have leagued againſt them.
" You know the tyrants; do not ſhrink
" before them, for a ſimple Parliament has
" often blaſted the will of deſpots. The
" Executive Power is not in harmony with
" you. We want no other proof of this
" than the diſmiſſion of the patriotic Mi-
" niſters; and ſhould the happineſs of a
" free people thus depend upon the caprice
" of a King? Should this King have any
" other will than that of the law? The
" nation ſay he ſhall not, and their head is
" well worth that of crowned deſpots.
" That head is the genealogical tree of the
" nation, and before this ſturdy oak that
" feeble ſhrub muſt bend.

" We complain, Gentlemen, of the in-
" action of our armies. We require of
" you to find out the cauſe; and if it be
" owing to the Executive Power, let it be
" annihilated! The blood of patriots ſhould
" not be ſhed, to gratify the pride and
" ambition of the perfidious Palace of the
" Thuilleries. What then can ſtop us? If the
" firſt defenders of liberty had thus tempo-
" rized, would you now have been ſitting

" in

" in this auguſt Areopagus? Reflect well
" upon it; nothing can ſtop us; liberty
" cannot be ſuſpended; if the Executive
" Power does not act, there can be no al-
" ternative; it is he that muſt be ſuſpended.
" If through reſpect we maintain him in
" his poſt, it is on condition that he fill it
" Conſtitutionally. If he does not, he is
" no longer any thing to the French nation.
" Are the people to be forced again to the
" period of the 14th of July—again to take
" the ſword of Juſtice into their own hands,
" to avenge at a ſingle blow the outraged
" law, and to puniſh the guilty and the
" puſillanimous depoſitaries of that very
" law? We have imparted to you a heavy
" ſorrow. We have opened to you our
" hearts, which for a long time paſt have
" been deeply wounded, and we hope that
" this laſt cry, which we direct to you,
" will make its way to yours. The people
" are at hand; they wait in ſilence an anſwer
" worthy of their ſovereignty. Legiſlators,
" we requeſt to continue armed till the Con-
" ſtitution is enforced. This petition does
" not come alone from the inhabitants of
" the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, but from all
" the Sections of the Capital, and from the
" environs

" environs of Paris. The petitioners de-
" ſire to have the honour of filing off before
" you."

This harangue was very often interrupted by the plaudits of the galleries and a great part of the *Coté-gauche*, and the Preſident anſwered it in the following words:

" Citizens, the National Aſſembly and
" the people of Paris are but one. We
" have your intereſt, your happineſs, your
" liberty at heart; but we alſo have at heart
" the Conſtitution and the law. The repre-
" ſentatives of twenty-four millions of men
" declare to you through me, that they will
" render the plots of conſpirators abortive,
" that they will give them up to the laws,
" becauſe the laws alone are empowered to
" avenge the people, and becauſe it is only
" in them and by them that you will find
" that Conſtitution and that liberty which
" you ſeek. The Aſſembly call upon you
" to reſpect the law and the conſtituted au-
" thorities; and they call upon you to do it
" in the name of the country and of liberty,
" which we are reſolved to defend at the
" hazard of our lives, and by dying, if
" neceſſary, at the poſt where the people
" have placed us, and where we breathe
" only

" only for liberty and for the maintenance " of the laws which we have ſworn to en- " force."

No mention whatever was made of the addreſs which was to be preſented to the King; nor was it laid upon the table, although one of the Members of the *Coté-gauche* (*La Source*) had declared but a few minutes before, in the moſt poſitive terms, that it was the intention of the petitioners. This impoſition was deſigned only to remove the uneaſineſs created by the repreſentations of the Procureur-Syndic.

The petitioners, and the citizens, male and female, of all the Sections of the Capital, who had joined them*, obtained permiſſion, without the leaſt difficulty, to file off in arms before the Aſſembly, and entered armed with pikes, muſkets, axes, cutlaſſes, ſpits, knives, bludgeons, &c. They were preceded by ſeven or eight muſicians playing the air of *ça ira*. The march was directed by *Santerre*, and the Marquis *de St. Haruge*, the uſual ſpeaker, or rather vociferator, of the ſeditious groups that collected

* That is to ſay, all the populace of Paris, and the ſtrange brigands who had mixed with them.

in

in the coffee-houſes and garden of the Palais-Royal. Several detachments of the National guard were loſt in the croud. This army of patriots of both ſexes, moſt of them half drunk, croſſed the Hall dancing and ſhouting, *Vive la Liberté! Vivent les Sans-culottes! Down with the Veto!* Two men were ſeen in the proceſſion, one carrying on a pike an old pair of breeches, with a label inſcribed, *Vivent les Sans-culottes!* and the other a calve's heart, the inſcription of which was the heart of an Ariſtocrat. On the repreſentations of ſome of the Members of the Aſſembly to the latter, he was prevailed upon to withdraw. *Santerre* preſented a ſet of colours to the Preſident in the name of the citizens of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, and told him, that being come to offer their lives to the Aſſembly for the defence of their decrees, they begged them to accept theſe colours as an acknowledgment of the marks of kindneſs they had been good enough to beſtow upon them.

"The National Aſſembly receive your "offering," replied the Preſident, "and "enjoin you *to continue marching under* "*the Ægis of the law*, the ſafeguard of the "country."

How

How replete with cowardice, with perfidy, was this anſwer, and the applauſes it obtained from the majority of the Aſſembly! Was not the enjoining of this ungovernable multitude to continue marching under the Ægis of the law, allowing that they were then marching under it, and conſequently that their inſurrection, arming, and ſeditious clamours were perfectly regular? Was it not inciting and ſanctioning in advance whatever outrages of the ſame kind they might attempt?

The Preſident then announced to the Aſſembly that Courtray was taken, and a great number of priſoners. *I haſte*, added he, *to acquaint you with this news, that this day, which created alarms, may be changed into a day of confidence and joy.* Numerous plaudits, mixed with patriotic acclamations, teſtified the delight of the Aſſembly, and terminated this Sitting. It was then four o'clock in the afternoon.

Every thing had remained quiet in the Palace till half after three o'clock, when the petitioners were ſeen coming out of the Hall, and joining the immenſe populace who were waiting for them without: they filled the garden of the Thuilleries, and the ſquare of

of the Carouzel, moving tumultuouſly towards the doors and iron gates of the Palace, which the King had ordered to be locked: theſe they ſhook with violence, calling out loudly to have them opened. The croud increaſing every moment, and their vociferations becoming more and more menacing, a Municipal Officer endeavoured to reaſon with the leaders of the mob that were beſieging the gates of the Royal court. He repreſented to them that the guard could not, without violating the Conſtitution, and making themſelves reſponſible, ſuffer more than twenty petitioners at once to enter the Palace; and that if they would commiſſion twenty of them to go and preſent their petition to the King, the doors ſhould be opened to them. At this moment, when this propoſal was about to be accepted, another Municipal Officer (*Panis*) who was within the Palace, came down to the iron gate which led to the terrace in the garden, and ordered the guard to open it *. Scarcely was

* If the King's Conſtitutional guard had not been diſbanded three weeks before, they would have been at this poſt, and would never have obeyed ſuch an order; ſo that the diſbanding of them was a neceſſary meaſure previous

was this order obeyed, when the multitude that crouded the garden ruſhed impetuouſly into the Palace, and made it echo with the ſhouts of *Vive la Nation! Vivent les Sans-culottes!* Theſe ſhouts being heard in the ſquare of the Carouzel, were there repeated by thouſands of brigands, who ſeeing their companions maſters of the Palace, would no longer liſten to any remonſtrance, forced the gate of the Royal court, that they might join them; and by one of thoſe prodigies of ſtrength, which the moſt violent fits of delirium can alone render poſſible, they carried a cannon with their own hands into the very hall of the guards.

The King was then with his family, whom he was comforting and encouraging by his own ſerenity. A noiſe was heard, which proceeded from an attack upon the doors of the inſide of the Palace, which his Majeſty had ordered to be ſhut: they were beaten in by hatchets and iron crows. The

previous to the outrages of the 20th of June, which had been long before projected by the factions, who thought they had occaſion for them, to prepare the public for outrages ſtill more ſerious, and to determine, according to the reception of this firſt eſſay, the final organization of their Revolutionary means.

repeated

repeated blows given by theſe being more diſtinctly heard, the King went by himſelf into the Council Chamber, where he found the faithful Mareſchal *de Mouchy*, the worthy *d'Hervilly*, formerly Commander of the Horſe Guards, the Commander of the battalion of the Fauxbourg St. Marceau, (*Aclogne* *), and three grenadiers of the National guard. At that moment the pannels of the door that led to the next room were broken and fell in. His Majeſty immediately ordered it to be opened. The firſt that entered were men of horrid aſpects, armed with pikes. *Aclogne* advanced boldly towards them, and made them lower their arms. *Citizens*, ſaid he, *here is your King, what do you want with him? Reſpect this good King.* This injunction was repeated by the three grenadiers of the National guard. Two or three of theſe brigands, half intoxicated, cried mechanically, *Vive le Roi!* while others as ſtupidly roared out, *petition and addreſs!* The King, whoſe only care was to keep theſe furies at a diſ-

* A brewer of the Fauxbourg St. Marceau. The virtues and misfortunes of the King had made ſuch an impreſſion on this worthy man, that his Majeſty had not a more zealous ſervant.

tance from the apartment in which he had left the Royal Family, hoped to prevent their penetrating any farther into the Palace, and to make them go back into the *Œil de Beuf**, by going thither himſelf, under the pretence of ſhowing himſelf to the people in a larger room, and receiving the petition he was told of. This perilous reſolution was formed, announced, and executed at the ſame inſtant. His Majeſty, accompanied by the ſix perſons he had found in the Council Chamber, made his way with extreme difficulty through the croud that filled the Levee-room to the *Œil de Beuf*, where he ſtopped at the middle window, and ſeated himſelf on a chair, which being placed on the ſtep within the receſs, raiſed him above the multitude. Mareſchal *de Mouchy*, M. *d'Hervilly*, and the three grenadiers whom I mentioned before, were cloſe to him, while the intrepid *Aclogne* was as active as poſſible in gathering about the window all the men of the National guard then at the Palace, whom he could depend upon.

Madame *Elizabeth*, who was ever ſwayed

* One of the outer apartments.

by

by her affectionate ſolicitude for her auguſt brother, not having had permiſſion to follow him into the Council Chamber, had placed herſelf behind the door, which was half open, in order that ſhe might have him always in ſight. As ſoon as ſhe ſaw him, ſurrounded with brigands, going into the next apartment, ſhe darted forward, and ſeeing one of the late Captains of the Conſtitutional guard, dragged him into the croud amidſt the pikes, and reaching the *Œil de Beuf* almoſt as ſoon as the King, took a place to the left of his Majeſty, in the receſs of another window. The Captain of the Conſtitutional guard (M. *de Marſilly*) remained with her, and ſome other perſons devoted to the Royal Family joined her. Several brigands, who had never ſeen this Princeſs, taking her for the Queen, poured forth the moſt horrible execrations againſt her. The perſons about her were going to undeceive them, but Madame *Elizabeth* would not allow it. "Do not mention my "name," ſaid ſhe; "let them think that "I am the Queen." It was not enough for this magnanimous Princeſs to ſhare the dangers of her beloved brother, ſhe wiſhed

to draw upon herſelf too thoſe that threatened her ſiſter-in-law.

It would be as uſeleſs as diſguſting to give a circumſtantial account of the groſs language, threatening geſtures, inſults, and outrages of every kind, which the King experienced on this horrid day. It will be eaſy to conceive the exceſſes of this horrible collection of the moſt ferocious brigands, whoſe patriotiſm, or rather Revolutionary delirium, was raiſed to a pitch of fury by the fumes of the ſtrong liquors with which they had been laviſhly ſupplied. Some demanded, or commanded by their clamours, the re-appointment of the patriotic Miniſters, and the ſanction of the two decrees. To theſe the King ſaid; *this is not the moment for making ſuch a demand, nor the way in which it ſhould be done.* Others, advancing with their pikes raiſed towards the window in which his Majeſty was, ordered him, by their vociferations, mixed with oaths, to cry *Vive la Nation.* "Will," replied the King, "*Vive la Nation*; it cer-"tainly has no better friend than myſelf." One of the monſters, foaming with fury and wine, puſhing through the croud, brutally

tally preſented a red cap to his Majeſty, and inſiſting that he ſhould put it on, placed it himſelf on the King's head, for which he was loudly applauded by the reſt of the villains, who endeavoured to outdo one another in new outrages, exceeding thoſe they had ſeen committed. This execrable emulation became the patriotiſm of the moment, and more than once put the life of *Louis* XVI. in danger *, without producing in him any viſible alteration of that tranquil and undaunted look which diſconcerted the moſt determined aſſaſſins. It was at this time, that a ſoldier of the National guard, who happened to be near him, ſaying to him that he muſt have felt great fear, the King made that ſublime reply, which was heard by ſeveral perſons, and ſoon repeated throughout the Palace: "The man who means well "feels no fear. Put your hand here," added his Majeſty, taking the ſoldier's hand

* It was atteſted in the Sitting of the 21ſt, by one of the Members of the *Coté-droit*, (M. *Duvezoult*) that one of his colleagues, who was at the Palace, had been ſo much alarmed at the dangers with which his Majeſty was threatened, that he had uſed theſe words to the multitude: "You ſhall not approach the King but over my "body."

and putting it upon his heart, "is this "the beating of a heart agitated with "fear?"

The Queen, accuſtomed never to compound her dignity for her perſonal ſafety, hearing herſelf named in the clamours of the Brigands, was not diſpoſed to wait their breaking into the ſmall apartment in which the King had left her. She thought it more becoming, and perhaps leſs dangerous alſo, boldly to brave the danger, than to ſhun it. She went therefore with her children, and ſome ladies of the Court, into the Council Chamber juſt as the croud was entering it: there ſhe heard, without emotion, the imprecations directed to her, and to the laſt preſerved that commanding and majeſtic countenance that repels inſult and forces reſpect. The moment moſt painful to her, was that in which ſhe ſaw the red cap placed on her ſon's head. She nevertheleſs concealed her indignation, and ſeemed to have paid no attention to that inſult. Some moments after, *Santerre*, one of the chiefs of this inſurrection, making his way through the croud, went up to the Queen, and ſeeing the Dauphin's face covered with perſpiration, ſaid, *This child is ſmothered; why*

is

is this cap left upon his head? He then took it off himſelf, and put it on the table on which the Dauphin was ſitting, ſaying to the Queen in a low voice, yet loud enough to be heard by the perſons about her Majeſty, *You have very aukward friends, Madam; I know thoſe who would ſerve you much better.* The Queen looked down, and made him no anſwer.

While the King and his family were at the mercy of this army of brigands, the Aſſembly reſumed their Sitting, and appointed a deputation of twenty-four Members to go to the King, and expreſs their ſolicitude for the ſafety of his perſon. Several Deputies coming from the Palace, reported the facts which they had witneſſed. Some of them gave an exact account, and they were ſcandalouſly interrupted by hootings and murmurs; others laboured to diſguiſe and to ſoften the circumſtances of this horrid ſcene, and theſe were loudly applauded*.

" It

* That I may not be accuſed of exaggeration on this head, I ſhall here copy literally the ſpeech of M. *Dumas*, as reported in the *Moniteur*, which certainly cannot be conſidered as a Royaliſt or an Ariſtocratic

" It ſhould ſeem," ſaid one of them, (*La Source*), " that we are uneaſy " for the King's perſonal ſafety. Let us " not attribute to the people ſentiments " which they have not. The people have " no ill will to the perſon of the King, nor " to that of the Prince Royal. The people " were in the King's apartments; they " were in poſſeſſion of his perſon, as well " as that of the Prince Royal, yet they

paper. " I am juſt come from the Palace—the King " is in danger. I ſaw, with ſeveral Deputies to whom " I appeal, the hereditary Repreſentative of the nation " inſulted, threatened, and treated contemptuouſly. I " ſaw M. *Iſnard* and M. *Vergniaux* making great efforts " to reſtrain the people." *(M. Dumas was frequently interrupted by the hootings and murmurs of a ſmall part of the Aſſembly.)* " You are reſponſible," continued he, " to poſterity. The National Aſſembly owe it to themſelves to ſend for the Commander of the National " guard, and give him the neceſſary orders for ſecuring " the public tranquillity, and the King. Pardon him " who anſwered for the ſecurity of the Royal Family " on the 21ſt of June laſt year, for being ſo greatly " affected by their danger. I ſaw the King; he could " not make himſelf heard; he was treated vilely.— I " ſaw him with a woollen red cap upon his head——" *(M. Dumas was interrupted by freſh murmurs.)* Moniteur of June 22, 1792, p. 723, third column.

committed

"committed no exceſs, no violence. Adopt "meaſures of mildneſs and conciliation*."

A great majority of the Aſſembly loudly applauded this ſpeech, conſequently, admitting or inclining to ſanction the opinion that there was neither violence nor exceſs in the invaſion of the Palace by 40,000 armed men, driving in the doors with hatchets, dragging a loaded cannon into the apartments, confining the King in the receſs of a window, putting a thouſand inſults upon him and the Royal Family, and placing a red cap on his head and on the Dauphin's! Will poſterity believe, that the wretch who dared to hold ſuch language, and thoſe who applauded him were the Repreſentatives of the French nation? Will they not ſee in this Aſſembly, where the outrages of the 20th of June were treated with ſuch indulgence, the authors, or at leaſt the chief accomplices of this conſpiracy?—It was ſix o'clock in the evening before *Petion* went to the Thuilleries; that is to ſay, when there was no new crime to be expected from the intoxication or delirium of the brigands, and

* See the Moniteur of June 22d 1792, p. 724, firſt column.

when

when the violent impetuoſity which ſignalized their entrance had given place to a kind of ſtupid foolery, which ſtill kept them at the Palace, without any other idea or intention than that of ſeeing what would be the end of the atrocious and diſguſting ſcenes in which they appeared to have totally forgotten that they were the only actors. The number of people in the apartments and within the Palace was ſo great, and they were ſo crouded, that it was as difficult to go out as to go in, and the King, ſuffering exceedingly from thirſt, was obliged to wait near three quarters of an hour for a glaſs of beer which he had aſked for. He no ſooner raiſed the glaſs to his lips than thouſands of voices called to him to drink the health of the nation. It was not poſſible for him to refuſe. The croud was not leſs in the garden, courts, and ſquare of the Carouzel, where they were informed every minute of what was going on in the Palace, by a number of perſons bawling with the voice of a Stentor, and who, getting over the windows of the *Œil de Beuf*, and of the hall of the guards on the cornice running below the windows, repeated, with all the force

force of their lungs, what was reported to them by the people within.

The deputation ſent by the Aſſembly did not get near his Majeſty without much difficulty; and at the moment when there was no longer any danger to fear. "Sire," ſaid the ſpeaker of the deputation, "the "National Aſſembly have deputed twenty-"four of their Members to inform them-"ſelves of your ſituation, protect your Con-"ſtitutional liberty, and ſhare your dangers." The King replied, *that he was ſenſible of the Aſſembly's ſolicitude for him, but that he was in the midſt of his people, and feared nothing.* Some Members of the deputation tried to prevail upon the populace to retire, but they were immovable.

Petion at length appeared in the *Œil de Beuf.* The croud opened to let him paſs. When he reached the middle of the Hall, he got upon a chair, harangued the people, and impudently praiſed the moderation with which they had exerciſed their right of petitioning. "You will," ſaid he, "finiſh "this day as you began it. Hitherto your "conduct has been conformable to the law; "in the name of the law I call upon you "to follow me, and to retire peaceably to "your

" your homes." This army of brigands, as obedient to the voice of *Petion* as the beſt diſciplined army could have been to the orders of their General, began immediately to move, and filed off through the door oppoſite to that by which they had entered; that is to ſay, paſſing through all the King's apartments. The deputation then requeſted the King to return to his room, whither they accompanied him. They then went and gave an account to the Aſſembly of the ſtate of tranquillity in which they had left the Palace, and the manner in which they had diſcharged their miſſion. The Aſſembly expreſſed their ſatisfaction to them by loud plaudits. One ſentence only in the ſpeech to the King excited violent murmurs; that was, where the ſpeaker ſaid, in the name of his colleagues, *that they were come to ſhare all his dangers*. It is certain that, at the time this was ſaid to the King, it was a mere gaſconade, for there was no more danger to be apprehended for his Majeſty, nor conſequently to be ſhared with him. But this was not the cauſe of the murmurs excited by that expreſſion; the blame caſt upon the ſpeaker was, for giving it to be underſtood that the King had been in any danger,

danger, and for thus drawing upon the Aſſembly the cenſure of having prevented it, as they ſhould have done, by taking into conſideration the repreſentations which the Directory of the Department had made to them on this occaſion.

The diſapprobation expreſſed by theſe murmurs were juſtified, or at leaſt explained by the falſe account which *Petion* came and gave to the Aſſembly of what had paſſed at Paris. "Every thing," ſaid he, "indi-" cated the greateſt calm. Perſons, pro-" perty, all were reſpected. What has " happened? The people were paſſing " through the Thuilleries, when *ſeveral* " *citizens proceeded to the King's apart-* " *ments. Thoſe citizens, culpable no doubt,* " *inſulted nobody. They proved that they* " *had no deſign of committing exceſſes,* " *for they were ſo numerous, that the* " *public force could not have prevented* " *whatever they might have choſen to com-* " *mit.* I repaired to the Palace in order to clear the apartments. " *The King has had* " *no reaſon whatever to complain of the* " *citizens, who filed off before him. He* " *ſaid ſo himſelf to the deputies and ma-*

giſtrates.

" *giſtrates.* Calm is now every where per-
" fectly reſtored, and I hope will continue."

I will not pauſe to refute the groſs and awkward falſhoods put together in this recital. I think it enough to have diſtinguiſhed them by uſing Italic characters; but the important confeſſion which eſcaped *Petion* is not unworthy of remark. He acknowledged, in the moſt poſitive terms, the brigands, whom he was pleaſed to honour with the name of *Citizens*, were ſo numerous, that the public force could not have prevented whatever exceſſes they might have choſen to commit. It might at leaſt have prevented their collecting before they were formed, had the Municipality given orders for it; conformably to the law, and to the reſolution of the Department: but *Petion* was not ſatisfied with taking no meaſure whatever to prevent theſe brigands from arming and aſſembling, he called upon the National Guard to arm and join them, not to ſuppreſs, but to follow them! It no doubt required a great ſtock of ſtupidity or villany to dare to encounter ſuch a weight of reſponſibility.

The Aſſembly loudly applauded *Petion*'s ſpeech, and broke up the Sitting at ten o'clock.

o'clock. Thus terminated this horrid day, on which the King owed his life to his preſence of mind and cool unſhaken courage, the Queen hers to the commanding dignity of her countenance, and Madame *Elizabeth* hers to the reſpect produced by the heroic and affectionate devotion ſhe manifeſted for their Majeſties.

The populace had ſcarcely left the Palace, when even thoſe of their own claſs, who had not taken an active part in the inſurrection, broke out into invectives againſt thoſe who had excited it, and admired the firm and moderate conduct of the King and Royal Family. Alas! that the execrable crimes of which this auguſt family became victims, ſhould be ſuch as to make us almoſt regret that their ſad deſtiny had not been conſummated this day! The regicide would have been the crime only of a few villains, whom France would have abhorred, whom a Court would have puniſhed. It would have ſpared the Royal Family the indignities, humiliations, and outrages without number they were farther doomed to ſuffer. The Monarchy might have been ſaved; at leaſt, if it had periſhed, the national honour would not have received

received ſuch a ſtain; whereas, ſeven months after, it was in the name of the nation, and by its Repreſentatives themſelves, that the blood of *Louis* XVI. was ſhed, and the anniverſary of that horrible crime placed in the number of national feſtivals.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XXI.

The Municipality of Paris and the National Aſſembly generally cenſured—A new Decree againſt armed Meetings—The Outrages of the 20th of June denounced—A Meſſage from the King—The Jacobins in the Minority—Their Attempt to annul the King's Veto—His Majeſty's admirable Proclamation reſpecting the late Outrages—The Effect of it alarms the Conſtitutional Party—The Aſſembly attempt to make the Miniſters reſponſible for the Refuſal of the Sanction, and call upon them for an Account of the

Meaſures taken for the Safety of the State—The King propoſes to raiſe an Army of Reſerve—The Account given by the Miniſters objected to—A ſeditious Placard denounced by M. de Monciel—Bazire denounces the King's Proclamation—Energetic Meaſures for preventing another Inſurrection—Incendiary Addreſs from the Jacobin Club of Dijon to the Aſſembly—Decree relative to the Maintenance of the Conſtitution—The Conquerors of the Baſtille applauded and honoured by the Aſſembly—The Inconſiſtency of the Aſſembly explained—Senſation produced in the Provinces by the Outrages of the 20th of June—Reſolution of the Directory of the Department of the Somme.

THE general animadverſion excited by theſe ſhocking ſcenes, of which the Palace of the Thuilleries had been the theatre, was not only directed againſt the Municipality, but againſt the Aſſembly. They were juſtly charged with having encouraged the inſurrection, by refuſing the ſupport of their authority to the meaſures which the Department

ment had taken to prevent the arming and aſſembling of the brigands; nor were they leſs cenſured for the diſtinguiſhed reception and the applauſes with which they had the audacity, or rather the cowardice, to honour the Deputation of the Marſeillois and their ſeditious harangue. One of the moſt eſtimable Members of the *Coté-droit*, (*Bigot de Priameneu*) took advantage of this opportunity to propoſe to the Aſſembly to decree, that, in future, no meeting of armed citizens ſhould, on any pretence whatever, appear at their Bar, march through their Hall, or preſent themſelves before any Conſtituted Authority. This was evidently to acknowledge the error of the Aſſembly in not paſſing the decree on the 19th of June. Some ſpeakers of the *Coté-gauche* warmly oppoſed this motion, and maintained, that it was uſeleſs to make a law which exiſted already. However, after much debating, the motion had the majority*.

When the Council-General of the Department was informed of this decree being paſſed, they immediately ſent their thanks to the Aſſembly, and requeſted that it might be ſent for the ſanction, and promulgated as ſoon as poſſible.

No ſooner was this decree paſſed, than another Member of the *Coté-droit* (M. *Daverhoult*) denounced the outrages that had been committed the day before, and moved that the Aſſembly, diſplaying the greatneſs of their character, ſhould give directions to the Miniſter of Juſtice to cauſe informations to be inſtituted againſt all the authors and inſtigators of this inſurrection; that they ſhould ſend for the Miniſter of the Interior, the Directory of the Department, and the Commander of the Pariſian National Guard, to know whether the neceſſary orders for preventing or repreſſing theſe riotous proceedings had been given, or whether they were to be imputed to the diſobedience of thoſe who were on guard about the King, in order that the Aſſembly, on obtaining full information on this head, might take meaſures to protect the country from ſimilar dangers. The Member was often interrupted by abuſe and contradictions; he was accuſed of impoſture, and with ſlandering the people, the King himſelf, and the Members of the Aſſembly who had been deputed to his Majeſty, and whoſe reports he contradicted. — Theſe clamours were ſuſpended, to attend to the reading of a meſſage

meſſage from the King, conceived in the following terms:

"Mr. Preſident, The events of yeſterday are already known to the National Aſſembly. They have ſtruck Paris with conſternation. All France will hear of them with aſtoniſhment mixed with ſorrow. I was very ſenſible of the zeal which the National Aſſembly teſtified to me on the occaſion. I leave it to their prudence to diſcover the cauſes of theſe events, to weigh the circumſtances attending them, and to take the meaſures neceſſary for maintaining the Conſtitution, and for ſecuring the Conſtitutional inviolability, and liberty of the hereditary Repreſentative of the nation. As for me, nothing can prevent my acting, at all times, and in all circumſtances, according to the duties laid upon me by the Conſtitution which I have accepted, and the true intereſts of the French nation."

The Miniſter of the Interior (M. *de Monciel*) then read the letters which had paſſed between him and the Directory of the Department relative to the outrages of the 20th of June, and gave an account of the circumſtances, of which he had been offi-

cially informed. Some Members of the *Coté-gauche* more than once interrupted the reading of this Memorial with murmurs, but it was applauded by the majority of the Aſſembly, who referred it to the new Commiſſion of the Twelve, together with the King's meſſage, and the denunciation made by M. *Daverhoult.*

The Jacobins, exaſperated at not having been able to carry a ſingle motion in the whole of this Sitting, made another effort to bring the majority over to them, or to deprive them of all popularity, by rendering them ſuſpected of Royaliſm. The greateſt villain among them, the worthy rival of *Robeſpierre* (*Couthon*), addreſſing the Aſſembly, impudently attributed the outrages of the 20th of June to the diſmiſſion of the Patriot Miniſters, and the King's refuſal of ſanctioning the two decrees moſt adapted to reſtore order, peace, and proſperity, and to ſtrengthen the ties of fraternity which ſhould unite all Frenchmen. "Is this the "way," added he, "that the King, who "has ſo often talked to you of his ſolici- "tude, who has ſo many times ſaid, re- "peated, and ſworn to you, that the hap- "pineſs of his people was his, that he "was

" was exerting himſelf with all his power,
" with all his ſtrength, with all his ſoul,
" to accelerate the energy of the Govern-
" mens, and to cauſe the laws to be loved
" and reſpected; is this the way that he
" means to prove his attachment to the peo-
" ple and the Conſtitution? It is time, it is
" urgent that the Aſſembly ſhould boldly
" enter upon and firmly decide the queſtion,
" whether peculiar decrees (*decrets de cir-
" conſtance*), which the public ſafety re-
" quires to be promptly executed, are, or
" are not ſubject to the *Veto*. If you ſhould
" decide that they are, you would deter-
" mine, againſt the text of the Conſtitu-
" tion, that there might be caſes in which
" the *Veto* would be abſolute, in which, the
" King might not only ſuſpend, but even
" annihilate the decrees; you would, in
" ſhort, determine that there might be oc-
" caſions on which the fate of the Empire
" would be abſolutely in his hands. For
" inſtance, ſay that a civil war were upon
" the point of breaking out, and that the
" National Aſſembly were taking the moſt
" active and efficacious meaſures to ſmother
" the flame, if the King can ſtay the exe-
" cution of thoſe meaſures by his *Veto*, is

" it not evident that the civil war depends
" on him? I do not propoſe to the Aſſem-
" bly to decide the queſtion immediately,
" but I move that a very early day be ap-
" pointed to take it into conſideration; in
" which caſe I will come with the Conſti-
" tution in my hand, to prove that my opi-
" nion is there written."

This motion, ſtrongly ſupported by the plaudits of the galleries and all the Jacobin party, tended to nothing leſs than veſting in the Aſſembly the whole Legiſlative power for all decrees which it ſhould pleaſe them to entitle *decrets de circonſtance*, and to reduce the King to the office of a head clerk, whom a decree *de circonſtance* might even ſuſpend or depoſe at pleaſure. It did not eſcape the Members of the *Coté-droit*, whoſe indignation broke forth againſt *Couthon*. Some moved that he ſhould be reprimanded, and others called for the order of the day, while the *Coté-gauche* inſiſted clamorouſly on a call of votes.

Amidſt this tumult, M. *Paſtoret* began to ſpeak, and ſucceeded in gaining a hearing. " Which of us," ſaid he, " does not feel
" the neceſſity of adhering to the Conſtitu-
" tion in an unſhaken manner, and conſe-
quently

quently of maintaining the ſeparation of "the Powers, which is the fundamental "principle of it? It is, above all, when "ſeditious and perjured men dare to ad-"vance that the time is come for reviſing "and changing it, that we ought to declare "ourſelves in ſuch a manner as to leave no "doubt. It is for the Legiſlative Body to "make it known that they treat theſe cul-"pable opinions with contempt." He confined himſelf to moving the previous queſtion on *Couthon*'s motion, and it was adopted, in ſpite of the efforts and clamours of the Jacobins, who grew furious at having conſtantly been in a minority throughout the Sitting. In the evening a ſmall armed meeting was formed towards the ſtreet of *l'Arbre Sec*; but it was ſoon diſperſed by the National guard, whoſe poſts had been doubled; and great hopes were entertained that ſuch outrages would no more be repeated after the publication of a reſolution of the Directory of the Department, enjoining the Municipality to give them a circumſtantial account in writing of the events of the 20th, and of the conduct of the different public functionaries who might be ſuppoſed to have neglected their duty: but the

the greateſt effect on this occaſion was produced by the admirable proclamation publiſhed by order of the King. It was as follows *:

" The French cannot have heard, without " pain, that a multitude, miſled by ſome " factious men, entered the King's habita- " tion with arms in their hands, dragged a " cannon into the guard chamber, beat in " the doors of his apartments with hatchets, " and there, audaciouſly abuſing the name " of the nation, attempted to obtain by " force the ſanction which his Majeſty had " conſtitutionally refuſed to two decrees. " To the menaces and inſults of the factious " the King oppoſed only his conſcience and " love of the public good. The King " knows not where they mean to ſtop, but " he wiſhes to inform the French nation,

* It was drawn up by M. *de Monciel.* A National guard who had juſt been reading it, meeting in one of the Courts of the Palace a Municipal Officer, a ſerjeant who had opened the gate on the 20th to the brigands, accoſted him with ſome ſevere reproaches, and receiving an impertinent anſwer, gave him one of the moſt violent boxes on the ear I ever heard. I was at that time ſtanding at one of the windows of the King's apartment.

" that

" that violence, to whatever exceſs it may
" be carried, ſhall never force from him a
" conſent to any thing he ſhall judge inju-
" rious to the public intereſt. He expoſes
" his tranquillity and ſafety without regret.
" He even ſacrifices, without pain, the en-
" joyment of rights which belong to all
" men, and which the law ſhould cauſe to
" be reſpected in his houſe, as well as in
" that of every citizen; but as hereditary
" Repreſentative of the French nation, he
" has duties to fulfil; and although he can
" make a ſacrifice of his repoſe, he will
" not make a ſacrifice of his duties. If
" they who wiſh to overthrow the Monar-
" chy, have need of one crime more, they
" may commit it. In its preſent critical
" ſituation, the King will to the laſt mo-
" ment ſet all the Conſtituted Authorities an
" example of courage and firmneſs which
" alone can ſave the Empire. He orders,
" in conſequence, all the Adminiſtrative
" Bodies and Municipalities to attend to
" the protection of the perſons and property
" of all *."

The

* In my Private Memoirs I have made ſome obſervations on the King's ſituation, and the ſtate of his mind at

The ſenſation produced by this proclamation, and eſpecially the comments made upon it by the Jacobins, with the motives they attributed to it, created an apprehenſion in the Conſtitutional party, that the impulſe given to the public opinion by the occurrences of the 20th of June, would bear it back ſo rapidly towards the Conſtitutional Monarchy, that it would not be able to ſtop there, but would ſuffer itſelf to run up even to the Royalty of the old ſyſtem. This apprehenſion ſoon united the two parties, and ſo ſoon as the 23d of June, the Aſſembly, on the report of the Commiſſion of the Twelve, unanimouſly paſſed a decree, tending to render all the Miniſters reſponſible for the refuſal of the ſanction to the two decrees reſpecting religious diſturbances, and the formation of a camp of 20,000 men in the environs of Paris. They ordered that all the Miniſters ſhould attend the Sitting of the next day, and that the Preſident ſhould make known to them the intentions of the Aſſembly in theſe terms:

at this juncture; and related an intereſting converſation with his Majeſty, relative to the outrages of the 20th of June. *See Private Memoirs*, Vol. II. page 296 to page 302.

"Two

"Two preſſing objects, and of the high-
"eſt importance, call forth at this moment
"the ſolicitude of the Legiſlative Body:
"the firſt is the neceſſity of putting a ſtop
"to the diſturbances raiſed by fanaticiſm;
"the ſecond is the urgent occaſion for
"placing an army of reſerve between the
"frontiers and Paris. The King is charged
"by the Conſtitution to attend to the gene-
"ral ſafety of the State. The National
"Aſſembly order you to lay before them,
"in writing, in the Sitting of to-morrow,
"an account of the meaſures which have
"been taken to provide for it."

On the ſame day, in the Evening Sitting, the Preſident read a letter from the King, which was delivered to him by the War Miniſter, (M. *de la Jarre*), and in which he was deſired to inform the Aſſembly, that the reſerve that had been formed by battalions of volunteers between the Capital and the frontiers, being diſperſed by thoſe battalions joining the three armies, his Majeſty propoſed to the Aſſembly to levy forty-two new battalions of volunteers, each Department furniſhing half a battalion; and that this reſerve ſhould be ſtationed in ſuch a manner, as to cover the frontiers, and even

to

to join the armies if it ſhould be neceſſary. The Miniſter pointed out Soiſſon as the moſt advantageous ſpot for the ſtation of this army.

This letter was an anticipation of the account expected next day from the War Miniſter relative to the meaſures taken for placing an army of reſerve between the frontiers and Paris. It was the more probable that the Aſſembly ſhould be ſatisfied with it, as the meaſure propoſed by the King was preciſely the ſame as that they had adopted, with this difference, that the 20,000 men were to be placed in ſuch a manner as to be able not only to protect the Capital, but even to join the armies if neceſſary; and that according to the plan preſented by the War Miniſter for raiſing this levy, it would neceſſarily be ſooner made and better compoſed.

As to the diſturbances pretended to be raiſed by fanaticiſm, they were all within the juriſdiction of the Courts of Juſtice, or of the Magiſtrates of the Police. All that the Miniſters could do was to ſtimulate them to be active. It was not their fault if the criminal code, or that of the Police, was incomplete. The Miniſter of Juſtice and

and the Miniſter of the Interior had ſeveral times ſent remonſtrances on this ſubject to the Legiſlative Body; nor till thoſe were taken into conſideration, were they at liberty to ſupply, by meaſures of their own, the deficiencies of the laws they ſolicited. Such was in ſubſtance the account given by theſe two Miniſters to the Aſſembly in the Sittings of the 23d and 24th of June; but it was found not conformable to the decree which had been paſſed, and they were ordered to give in another in three days. This was decreed on a motion of *Gaudet*'s, who pointed out the objection alledged, in the following manner:

"When Miniſters conſent to enter the "King's Council at a time when great "commotions agitate the kingdom, and "when two of your decrees, which would "have remedied them, are rendered uſeleſs "by the Conſtitutional right which the "King has employed to refuſe his ſanction "to them, there can be no doubt that "either they have betrayed the public in- "tereſt, or they have ſecured before- "hand ſufficient meaſures for putting a ſtop "to the diſturbances. It was in this ſenſe "that your decree was paſſed, and certainly

"I was

" I was right in ſaying that the particular " reports which the Miniſters have made " to you are not conformable to it. I move " that the Preſident ſhould declare to them " that the Aſſembly expect from them a " general account, not of letters written to " Courts and Adminiſtrative Bodies, but " of meaſures by which they engage them- " ſelves to the Aſſembly to put a ſtop to the " diſturbances."

This ſophiſtry was the more abſurd, as the ſpeaker and the Aſſembly were too well acquainted with the Conſtitution not to know that the proclamations determined upon in the Council, and the correſpondence with the Courts and Adminiſtrative Bodies, were abſolutely the only means that the Miniſter of Juſtice and the Miniſter of the Interior had for exerciſing the feeble portion of authority which had been left them; and conſequently that the communication of their correſpondence with the conſtituted authorities was evidently the moſt accurate account they could give of all they had done, or could have done. The Legiſlative Body could not be ignorant of theſe truths, but they were unknown to the populace, who were to be deceived and irritated againſt Miniſters,

Miniſters, of whom the factious had nothing to expect; and of whom conſequently it was eſſential to rid themſelves.

M. *de Monciel* was not intimidated by theſe proofs of evil deſigns; and at the ſame Sitting, in which he gave the Aſſembly the account they had required of him, he denounced to them a placard, which had juſt been ſtuck up about the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, conceived in theſe terms:

The Petition of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine to the National Aſſembly.

"The men of the 14th of July are riſing "for the ſecond time, and are coming to "denounce to you a King unworthy of any "longer filling the throne. We demand "that the ſword of the law ſhould fall upon "his head. If you refuſe us, our arms are "raiſed, and we ſhall ſtrike traitors where-"ever we find them, even among your-"ſelves."

The Miniſter declared, at the ſame time, that the Directory of the Department, who had given him information of this fact, had alſo informed him that there was a plan on foot for going the next day to preſent another petition to the National Aſſembly, to

engage them to deprive his Majeſty of the *Veto* on decrees *de Circonſtance*; and that the petitioners were afterwards to go to the Palace to obtain a poſitive declaration from the King. In this manner was it, that on urgent occaſions the Jacobins took care to have their motions, of whatever nature, ſupported; for it may well be imagined that the populace and workmen of the Fauxbourgs underſtood no more of decrees *de Circonſtance*, than they did of the real meaning of the word *Veto*.

M. *de Monciel* alſo informed the Aſſembly, that according to the account given to the Directory of the Department by the Mayor himſelf, the promulgation of the decree prohibiting armed aſſemblies, had not had all the effect in the Fauxbourgs St. Antoine and St. Marceau that might have been expected.

Theſe reports made the greater impreſſion on the Aſſembly, as the perſons of ſome of their Members were threatened; and they referred the Miniſter's memorial to the new Commiſſion of the Twelve, to make a report upon it the ſame day in the Evening Sitting. The Jacobin party, much leſs alarmed than the reſt, ſaw no neceſſity for hurrying

hurrying this report ſo much, and inſiſted on its being ſimply referred to the Commiſſion. "It is the King's proclamation," cried *Bazire*, "that has created all theſe "diſturbances—I denounce it." Some *enragés* of the *Coté-gauche* warmly applauded this denunciation, but the Aſſembly did not ſtop to conſider it.

At this very time the Directory of the Department were concerting with the Council-general of the Commune, under the authority of the Mayor, meaſures for preventing another inſurrection, or for ſuppreſſing it, if there was occaſion; and the energy of thoſe that were adopted compelled the factious to poſtpone the execution of their plan *.

The Evening Sitting (June 23) opened with the reading of one of the moſt incendiary addreſſes ever yet preſented to the Aſſembly. The firſt ſentences rouſed the in-

* The Municipality cauſed a proclamation to be publiſhed throughout Paris by Municipal Officers in their ſcarfs; but it was ſo unauthoritative, ſo canting, that it would not have produced any effect, if it had not been ſupported by means of an overawing force. The Municipality's proclamation is reported in the *Moniteur* of the 24th of June, page 1, third column.

dignation of the Members of the *Coté-droit;* who called for the order of the day; but the *Coté-gauche*, ſeconded by the plaudits and ſhouts of the galleries, inſiſted ſucceſsfully on the addreſs being read. It was ſent by the Jacobin Club of Dijon, and contained the following paſſages:

" We are not the dupes either of the " King, or of thoſe who miſlead him. " What can his intention be, when he is at " open war with the Aſſembly? Does he " depend upon the bodies aſſembling at " Coblentz? We deſpiſe them. On the " enemies at home? They owe their lives " to our indulgence. On the coalition of " the deſpots of Europe? We will die, or " all thoſe deſpots be overcome. Let him " be undeceived, if he thinks that we ſhall " ſacrifice our happineſs, or that of our " children, to his ambition. Let us be told " no more that the King is deceived, and " that he means the happineſs of the " French. If that were the caſe, he would " execute the law, without which they can " have no happineſs. If he were determined " on the Conſtitution, would he have borne " that foreign Courts ſhould receive and " protect thoſe who wiſh to deſtroy it; and

that

" that they ſhould inſult the Ambaſſadors
" charged to inform them of his acceptance
" of it? If he were determined on the
" Conſtitution, would he perſiſt in keeping
" wicked Miniſters, and part with thoſe
" who wiſh to give energy to the Govern-
" ment, and who dare to ſpeak the truth
" to him? If he were determined on the
" Conſtitution, would he aſſemble about
" him its moſt violent enemies, who flatter
" themſelves with the chimerical hope of
" the reſtoration of the nobility, by the
" creation of two Houſes of Legiſlation?
" If he were determined on the Conſtitu-
" tion, would he be afraid of embodying
" the National Volunteers, who are the
" friends and the firmeſt ſupport of the
" Conſtitution? No, the King is not de-
" termined on the Conſtitution; and if he
" ſays that he is determined upon it, he
" lies to the Conſtitution. *I am determined*
" *on the Conſtitution:* a ſtrange expreſſion
" in the mouth of a King! It is we who
" determined on it, and who determine on
" it ſtill. We are determined it ſhall be
" complete in ſpite of him. Legiſlators,
" the truſt of this Conſtitution is veſted in
" you. *Liberty or death* is the motto in-

" ſcribed on our colours; and it is inſcribed " alſo on our hearts in indelible characters."

The plaudits which attended this addreſs balanced the murmurs it excited, and the Aſſembly, after hearing it, paſſed to the order of the day, without daring to caſt the ſlighteſt cenſure on this ſeditious paper, for which the perſons who ſigned it ought to have been brought to trial, and puniſhed with the utmoſt rigour of the law.

The Commiſſion of the Twelve now made their report on the memorial of the Miniſter of the Interior, and propoſed a plan for a decree, which was applauded and unanimouſly adopted. It was as follows:

" The National Aſſembly, informed by " the Miniſter of the Interior that the ene- " mies of the people and of liberty are " ſtriving by every means to overturn the " Conſtitution, and abuſing the language " of patriotiſm, are miſleading ſome per- " ſons now reſiding at Paris: feeling a " juſt indignation at the criminal incite- " ments and placards which have been de- " nounced to them; conſidering that it is " the duty of the Legiſlative Body to main- " tain the Conſtitution and the inviolability " of the hereditary Repreſentative of the nation,

"nation, and that the laws have placed in "the hands of the Conſtituted Authorities "all the means neceſſary for them to enſure "order and public tranquillity; DECLARE "that there is no occaſion for taking new "Legiſlative meaſures; but in the name of "the nation and of liberty, they call upon all "good citizens, to whoſe fidelity the Con-"ſtitution is entruſted, to unite all their "efforts with thoſe of the Conſtituted Au-"thorities, for the maintenance of public "tranquillity, and for ſecuring men's per-"ſons and property. And the National "Aſſembly decree, that the preſent act of "the Legiſlative Body ſhall be ſent by the "Executive Power to the Department of "Paris, to be promulgated and made pub-"lic; and they order the Miniſter of the "Interior to give them every day an exact "account of the ſtate of Paris."

The perſecution experienced at this time by the Miniſters was not very conſiſtent with the principles that dictated this decree, which may be conſidered as the laſt act of this Aſſembly that was not a crime. Two days after, they ſcandalouſly proſtituted their applauſes and honours of the Sitting to a deputation of the conquerors of the Baſ-

tille, *the men of the 14th of July*, who were alſo the men of the 20th of June, and who had come with their complaints of the perſecutions, calumnies, and outrages, of which they were the object. This petition, drawn up in a more moderate and plaintive ſtyle than the addreſs of the Jacobins of Dijon, was not leſs ſeditious *, yet the Aſſembly ordered it to be printed, and ſent to the 83 Departments!

To explain theſe inconſiſtencies, it is neceſſary to recollect that the Legiſlative Body was divided into two parties; the one compoſed of Conſtitutionaliſts, and the other of

* This petition contained the following paſſages: "We who are perſecuted, outraged, calumniated, and "for what? Becauſe we were angry at the diſmiſſion "of the patriot Miniſters; becauſe we wiſhed to enjoy "the fullneſs of our rights. When the deſpotiſm of "the Court threatened the Capital and the Aſſembly, "we took the National cockade, we overthrew the "Baſtille. We rally inceſſantly around the Aſſembly, "whom our enemies wiſh to diſſolve. It is the Exe- "cutive Power that is the cauſe of all our calamities. "Legiſlators! we are your only friends. Can you hide "from yourſelves that you would be confounded with "us in the vengeance of the tyrants?—Yes, all who "have defended equality would periſh on ſcaffolds."—This petition was preſented in the Sitting of the 25th of June, and was publiſhed in all the newſpapers.

Jacobins

Jacobins of every degree and complexion. The latter, though fewer in number, almoſt always governed the former by their audacity and energy. It ſometimes happened, however, that the Conſtitutionaliſts finding themſelves carried away more rapidly, and farther than they meant to go, left the Jacobins for awhile; but they ſoon returned, either through cowardice, or the fear of the Revolution's being overthrown; and the nearer the horrid cataſtrophe that was to complete it approached, the more frequent were their evolutions: they were in a manner the dying convulſions of the Conſtitutional party.

The continual manœuvres employed by the Jacobins to keep up and increaſe the ferment which the occurrences of the 20th of June, and the arrival of the Marſeillois, had produced in the Capital, confirmed me in the opinion that the King had no alternative but that of leaving Paris as ſoon as poſſible. His Majeſty had permitted me to propoſe a plan to him for that purpoſe, which I accordingly did*, but he found in-

* This plan, and the anſwers I received from the King and Queen, are related in my Private Memoirs, Vol. II. page 302.

ſuperable

ſuperable objections to it, and ſo did the Queen.

Their Majeſties alſo flattered themſelves that the factious would be intimidated and reſtrained by the ſenſation which the events of the 20th of June had made in the Provinces, and which daily appeared by Reſolutions replete with teſtimonies of zeal, reſpect, and devotion for the King; admiration of his conduct, and indignation againſt the authors and inſtigators of the outrages committed on that day. The moſt remarkable of theſe reſolutions was one from the Department of the Somme, not only on account of the unanimity and ardour with which it was entered into, but from its expreſſing, with energy, ſentiments that were felt by all good men. 'I deem it a duty to inſert it here, in honour of the worthy Members of that Department, of thoſe good Frenchmen whoſe undaunted loyalty was not to be ſhaken either by the threats of the Jacobins, or by their poniards.

RESOLUTION

RESOLUTION *of the Directory of the Department of the Somme, on the Events of the 20th of June.*

"The Directory, at an extraordinary "meeting on the 22d of June, being in- "formed of the occurrences that had taken "place at Paris on the 20th of the ſame "month, have reſolved, and do reſolve as "follows: The King ſhall be preſented "with the thanks of this Department for "the firmneſs which he diſplayed on the "occaſion of the ſeditious mob of the 20th "of the preſent month; for having ſup- "ported the dignity of the nation, by re- "fuſing, at the riſk of his life, to yield to "the threats of a croud of unknown per- "ſons unlawfully armed; and for having "undauntedly made uſe of the right given "him by the Conſtitution, the care of "which is eſpecially entruſted to him: and "for this purpoſe, two Deputies from the "Directory of the Department ſhall be im- "mediately ſent to Paris, to preſent their "homage to his Majeſty, and to teſtify to "him their attachment and public gra- "titude.

"Theſe

" Theſe Deputies ſhall be charged to ſend " an account every day to the Directory of " the manœuvres and projects of the fac- " tious, to attend to the preſervation of the " King and his family, and, if neceſſary, " to die at his ſide for his defence and the " welfare of the State. The ſaid Deputies " ſhall be charged to offer the aſſiſtance of " the National Guards of the two hundred " battalions of this Department, if the " National Guard of Paris ſhall be found " inſufficient to inſure the life of the King, " and the liberty of the Legiſlative Body: " and the Directory declare, that the citi- " zens of the National Guard of this De- " partment are from this moment held in a " ſtate of permanent requiſition, and that " the Commanders of the battalions ſhall, " every week, appoint the eighth part of " their battalions to be drafted off, and ready " to march on the firſt order of the Con- " ſtituted Authorities. Notice of this " meaſure ſhall be given to the National " Aſſembly, and to the King.

" For executing this Reſolution, the Di- " rectory appoint M. *Dacaieu* and M. " *Berville* Members of the Adminiſtration " of this Department, to be their Deputies;

" and

" and the ſaid Reſolution ſhall be printed,
" and forwarded with due ſpeed by the
" *Procureur-General Syndic* to the Direc-
" tories of Diſtricts in the juriſdiction of
" the Department, to be ſent to the Muni-
" cipalities, who ſhall cauſe it to be read,
" publiſhed, and advertiſed in the uſual
" manner*."

Signed, " DESJUBES, *Vice-Preſident.*
" BERVILLE, *Secretary.*"

Almoſt

* In the Sitting of the 26th, in the evening, *Bazire* denounced this Reſolution as contrary to the laws; and the Aſſembly referred his denunciation to the Commiſſion of the Twelve. They did the ſame with the addreſſes of the different Departments and Municipalities, who expreſſed the ſame ſentiments on the outrages of the 20th of June. That of the Department of the Aigne almoſt drove the factious mad: it contained the following paſſage:—" The City of Paris ſhall be re-
" ſponſible for the Conſtitutional Act, and for the ſafety
" of the elected Repreſentatives and hereditary Repre-
" ſentative of the nation. If their blood ſhould be
" ſhed, all France would collect armies to avenge
" them. It is only the factious that lament the loſs of
" the *Rollands*, *Clavieres*, *Servans*, and *Dumouriers*.
" We declare to all France that M. *Rolland* and M.
" *Servan* ſeverely reprehended the Directory of the
" Aigne for having, at the general deſire of the army of
" the Centre, changed the dearth in their camp to plenty.
" The happineſs of France depends upon the de-
" ſtruction

Almoſt all the Departments of the kingdom, and ſeveral thouſands of Municipalities expreſſed the ſame ſentiments in their Reſolutions or Addreſſes, ſo that the Legiſlative Body could not be ignorant of the wiſhes and opinion at this juncture of the

" ſtruction of private aſſociations. Proſcribe the corpo-
" ration clubs and their correſpondences. Let all citi-
" zens meet indiſcriminately, without forming cor-
" porations. Put an end to the ſcandal of your divi-
" ſions diſtinguiſhed by your ſeats. Put an end to the
" intolerable diſturbances and ſhocking tyranny of the
" galleries. The factious of the Capital have no right
" to fix the public opinion. The will of Paris is but
" the will of the eighty-third part of the Empire. We
" demand vengeance for the execrable 20th of June,
" a day of everlaſting ſhame to Paris, of mourning to
" all France. We demand, as an example to the
" Adminiſtrative Bodies, the puniſhment of the en-
" couragers of thoſe crimes. The gates of Orleans
" muſt be thrown open, if ſuch men are not made to
" enter them."

The reading of this addreſs was frequently interrupted by clamours, contradictions, and long and tumultuous murmurs. It was referred, like the others, to the Commiſſion of the Twelve; but, at the ſame time it was decreed, that, on account of the denunciations it contained, it ſhould be counterſigned by the Secretaries of the Aſſembly, in order that the accuſers might be puniſhed as ſlanderers, or the accuſed as criminals.

whole

whole nation, the clubs of Jacobins and brigands only excepted; but, unfortunately, among the Members of this criminal Assembly, the nation had fewer Representatives than the brigands and the clubs.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XXII.

Complete Aſcendency of the Factious in the Aſſembly—Conduct of the Jacobin Club of Breſt—Indignation of the Army at the Outrages of the 20th of June—M. de la Fayette's Journey to Paris on that Occaſion, and the Reſult of it—The Continuation of Mallet-du-Pan's Miſſion—Preparatory Manœuvres of the Jacobins for new Outrages—M. de la Fayette's Letter to the Aſſembly on leaving Paris—Report of the Commiſſion of the Twelve on the State of France—Speech of Delaunay on that Report—

The

The King declines a Propoſal made by M. de la Fayette of removing him from Paris.

THE factious had now completely ſubjugated the majority of the Aſſembly. They daily obtained decrees, making honourable mention of addreſſes and petitions of the moſt violent nature, and adapted to excite inſurrection and diſorder throughout France, which were ordered to be ſent to all the Departments. Of theſe I ſhall confine myſelf to one inſtance. The Jacobin Club of Breſt, on being informed that the King had refuſed his ſanction to the decree for ſtationing an army of 20,000 volunteers near Paris, had written a circular letter on the 22d of June to their brothers and friends in the 83 Departments, in the following words:

" Friends, the country is in danger; we " are determined to defend it. If you love " it as we do, follow our example. The " rendezvous is under the walls of Paris. " Your brothers and friends,

" The BRESTOIS."

Not ſatisfied with having thus founded

the trumpet of rebellion, theſe worthy auxiliaries of the Marſeillois gang ſent a deputation to the Bar of the Aſſembly, to announce that they were preparing to come and ſhare the duty of the Pariſian National Guard: "We are ſtirring," ſaid they, "and the 150 leagues that ſeparate us will "ſoon be paſſed over. If no ſanctioned "decree guide us, we ſhall be guided by "our own civiſm." In this manner did theſe zealous friends of the Conſtitution, theſe violent patriots, who had ſo often ſworn *the Conſtitution or death*, violate one of its eſſential regulations! And the Aſſembly, inſtead of repreſſing this violation, as they were bound by their oath to do, made honourable mention of it in their minutes, and proclaimed it in the 83 Departments as an example for imitation! What crimes were not to be expected from ſuch an exceſs of audacity!

The great anxieties that agitated us were diverted by the arrival of an important and unexpected piece of news. Intelligence was brought that the army had broken forth into the moſt violent indignation at the account of the occurrences of the 20th of June; that ſeveral corps had been very eager to

to march to Paris to chaſtiſe the brigands; and that M. *de la Fayette* had been able to prevent them only by undertaking to come himſelf, and expreſs the wiſhes of the ſoldiers to the Aſſembly. The truth of this intelligence was confirmed by the General's arrival in the morning of the 28th of June. The King, on being informed of the object of his journey, conceived at firſt the greateſt expectations from it. Very different were my ideas, and I predicted but too juſtly, when I wrote to his Majeſty, on that very day, that M. *de la Fayette*, with good intentions, had engaged in an undertaking much above his powers, that he had begun it feebly, and was incapable of concluding it. He appeared at the Bar of the Aſſembly the day he arrived, where he made a ſpeech of as much energy as the occaſion required, and in which he demanded, in his own name, and in that of his army, the puniſhment of the authors and accomplices of the outrages of the 20th*.

M. *de la Fayette* was at firſt loudly applauded, and the Aſſembly granted him the honours of the Sitting; but he had ſcarcely

* See *the Moniteur of the 1ſt of July* 1792, *p.* 760.

taken his ſeat, when his conduct was reprehended with the greateſt vehemence by ſeveral Members, and particularly by *Gaudet* and *Vergniaux*. They cenſured him for quitting his poſt without leave, and coming merely for the purpoſe of intimidating the Legiſlative Body by indecent threats in the name of his army, and they even inſinuated that theſe were grounds for decreeing his impeachment. At theſe violent declamations, which were applauded by the galleries, the General ſeemed to be ſtruck dumb, and ſat as if he had been petrified; ſuffering the favourable effect that his conduct had at firſt produced, to be ſo entirely loſt, that the Aſſembly would not have heſitated to decree his impeachment, had they not been reſtrained by apprehenſions ariſing from the diſtinguiſhed reception which the National Guard and the people of Paris had given their old Commander, who, incapable of making an advantageous uſe of their regard, was reduced to the neceſſity of ſneaking out of Paris that very night, and going back to his army*.

While

* General *Luckner* wrote a letter to the King at this juncture, expreſſing to him the indignation which the events

While the Capital was in this critical ſituation, *Mallet du Pan* was purſuing the object of his miſſion with as much zeal as ability. A few days after his arrival in Germany, and after his firſt conferences with the Miniſters of the Courts of Vienna and Berlin, he wrote to me, that he had reaſon to be ſatisfied with the reception he had met with from M. *de Caſtries*, who had given him very favourable letters of recommendation; but as his commiſſion was only ſupported by a letter from me, and as the King's confidence in me was not known in Germany, he ſeemed only to be attended to from deference to M. *de Caſtries;* and, that there was ſo much circumſpection and reſerve maintained, that he could promiſe himſelf no ſucceſs unleſs I could contrive to ſend him, by a ſafe conveyance, a few words written by the King himſelf. He did not require this paper to be ſigned, as the King's writing was known by thoſe for whom it was intended. I ſent the contents of this letter to his Majeſty,

events of the 20th of June had excited in the army under his command, and the reſpectful and faithful devotion of all the officers and ſoldiers to his Majeſty. *See the Moniteur of July 1ſt 1792, page 760.*

and propoſed to him to write the following words on a very ſmall ſlip of paper :

" The perſon who preſents this paper " knows my intentions, and credit may " be given to what he ſays in my name*."

The poſt was a conveyance ſufficiently ſafe at that time, as the cuſtom of ſtopping and opening letters was not yet introduced. The letter intended to contain this writing was not folded or ſealed in any way which could attract the attention of the ſpies whom the Aſſembly kept in the poſt-offices ; nor was it to be ſent to *Mallet-du-Pan* under his own name, but under the aſſumed name of a German banker.

The letter to which this note referred was not written in cypher, and was as follows : " My eyes are as bad as they were when " you went away, and I am ſtill obliged " to employ the hand of another perſon to " write to you ; but that the perſon with " whom you are tranſacting the buſineſs " for me may entertain no doubt of the " reality of your commiſſion, I have " ſcrawled with my own hand two lines, " ſaying poſitively that you are acquainted

* See a *fac ſimile* of this note at the end of this volume.

with

" with my intentions, and that your word
" may be relied upon. As our friend knows
" my writing perfectly well, the ſcrap
" which I ſhall wafer to the bottom of my
" letter will ſerve as your credentials."

This letter, which I ſubmitted to the King, removed all his apprehenſions as to the dangers to which he might be expoſed by the note I had aſked of him, and he ſent it me immediately. With this I ſent *Mallet-du-Pan* a detail of the occurrences on the 20th of June. I obſerved to him, that it was very much to be feared that ſimilar ſcenes would be repeated, and with conſequences ſtill more diſaſtrous, unleſs the factious were reſtrained by the dread of a ſtriking and ſpeedy vengeance. I dwelt conſequently with the greater force on the neceſſity of haſtening as much as poſſible the publication of the manifeſto, the plan of which he was commiſſioned to propoſe, *without which*, to uſe the very words I wrote, I ſaid, *all is loſt*. That indeed was my opinion from the time that the King rejected the plan I had adviſed of his going to Fontainbleau. I was convinced that the efforts of all devoted to the King, and the

clandeſtine petty meaſures to which they were obliged to confine themſelves, would delay but for five or ſix weeks at moſt the cataſtrophe with which he was threatened, and at which he was too little alarmed.

Mallet-du-Pan informed me of the reception of my letter, and of the good effect that had been produced by the note ſent with it. The Miniſters of Vienna and Berlin no longer doubting the reality of his miſſion, converſed freely with him, and manifeſted to him intentions from which he conceived great hopes. In the mean time, however, it was neceſſary to watch with more vigilance than ever all the motions, all the manœuvres of the Jacobins, who were labouring, without intermiſſion, and by every kind of means, to keep up the moſt violent ferment in the Capital, and to raiſe the Revolutionary delirium to the degree of fury required for the outrages they had projected. To prepare the minds of people for theſe, they made the Provincial Clubs ſend them the moſt vehement addreſſes againſt the King, which they cauſed to be inſerted in all the newſpapers, and which they forced the Aſſembly to hear and to applaud.

plaud*. Commentaries were made upon them by their orators in the groups of the Thuilleries and Palais-Royal, which were becoming daily more obſtreperous and more numerous, while in the middling claſs of the people the ferment was kept up by two incendiary papers, of which numbers were daily

* The addreſs of the club of Lyons, ſigned by 6620 journeymen, deſcribing themſelves as *citizens*, was drawn up in the following terms:

" Repreſentatives of the French People! the Con-
" ſtitution is in danger. The citizens of Lyons are
" coming to defend it, or die for it. The factious ſur-
" round the throne, and he whom the nation has placed
" upon it reſigns himſelf to their criminal ſuggeſtions.
" Prevent, by a great meaſure, an inſurrection, which
" your indifference would render lawful. Depend no
" more on the word of a King who deceives you.
" *Louis* XVI. does not wiſh the Conſtitution ſhould be
" eſtabliſhed, for he protects the monſters who attack it,
" for he diſmiſſes Miniſters who enforce it, for he
" annuls the decrees which ſerve it. This man, for
" whom the nation has done every thing, who abſorbs
" in empty diſſipations the produce of the ſweat of
" four or five Departments, dares to come forward
" with the inſulting offer of 20,000 livres*. Can this
" man, who baſely deſerted his poſt, and who, after
" being replaced on the nobleſt throne in the world, ſo

* The ſum offered by the King as a patriotic donation, and taken from the funds appropriated to his private expences.

" ſoon

daily ſtuck up in all the ſtreets and public places at the expence of the Club*. Theſe open manœuvres were ſupported by an infinite number of clandeſtine arts and ſecret means, that were the more dangerous, as their effects were almoſt always produced before they were diſcovered; ſo difficult is it for honeſt minds to penetrate the tactics and combinations of villany.

M. *de la Fayette*, on ſetting out to return

" ſoon forgot the generoſity of the nation, ſtill direct
" the movements of our armies? A few days longer of
" indulgence, and liberty is no more. Attend to theſe
" warnings: they come from the majority of the citi-
" zens of a great city. Deſpiſe that minority that are
" vexed, and would deny the ſovereignty of the people.
" We diſdain them. If the public functionaries betray
" their duty, do you who reſpect it rend the veil; adopt
" commanding meaſures, and thouſands of arms will
" be raiſed to enſure the execution of them."

Several Members of the *Coté-droit* ſtopped the reading of this addreſs at the ſecond ſentence of it, and moved to paſs to the order of the day; but the *Coté-gauche* joining their clamours with thoſe of the galleries, forced the Aſſembly to hear it read through, and were even ſo audacious as to applaud the moſt ſhocking ſentences in it.

* *L'Ami des Citoyens*, and *La Sentinelle*; the former written by *Tallien*, and the latter by *Louvet*.

to

to the army, wrote a letter to the Aſſembly, in which he ſtrongly renewed the demands he had made at the Bar the day before. This letter was as follows:

"Gentlemen! In returning to the poſt "where brave ſoldiers are ready to die for "the Conſtitution, but who neither ought "nor will laviſh their blood except for that, "I go with great and deep regret at not "being able to inform the army that the "National Aſſembly have yet deigned to "come to any determination on my petition. "The voice of all the good citizens of the "kingdom, which ſome factious clamours "ſtrive in vain to ſtifle, daily call to the "elected Repreſentatives of the people, "and to their hereditary Repreſentative, "that while there exiſts near them a ſect "who fetter all the authorities, and menace "their independence, and who, after pro-"voking war, are endeavouring, by chang-"ing the nature of our cauſe, to make it "impoſſible to defend it; that while there "is cauſe to bluſh at the impunity of an "act of treaſon againſt the nation, which "has raiſed juſt and great alarms in the "minds of all the French, and univerſal indigna-

" indignation—our liberty, laws, and ho-
" nour are in danger. Truths like theſe,
" free and generous ſouls are not afraid of
" ſpeaking: hoſtile to the factious of every
" kind, enraged at cowards that can ſink ſo
" low as to look for foreign interpoſition,
" and impreſſed with the principle which
" I glory in having been the firſt to declare
" in France, *that all illegal power is op-*
" *preſſion, againſt which reſiſtance becomes*
" *a duty*, they are anxious to make known
" their fears to the Legiſlative Body. They
" hope that the prudence of the Repreſen-
" tatives of the people will relieve their
" minds of them. As for me, Gentlemen,
" who will never alter my principles, ſen-
" timents, or language, I thought that the
" National Aſſembly, conſidering the ur-
" gency and danger of circumſtances,
" would permit me to add my regrets and
" wiſhes to the expreſſion of my profound
" reſpect."

At the firſt words that alluded to the Jacobins, ſeveral Members of the *Coté-gauche* ſuddenly interrupted the reader with ſhouts of, *the order of the day*, and it was not without difficulty that the Aſſembly prevailed

failed in having it read through: they then referred it to the Commiſſion of the Twelve.

A report which had juſt been made in the name of this Commiſſion, on the actual ſituation of France, was at that time the ſubject before the Aſſembly. Had the reporter, *Paſtoret*, performed as he ought ſo important a taſk, he would have given a view, at once accurate and energetic, of all the calamities that deſolated this unhappy kingdom; he would have expoſed the real cauſes of them, by boldly denouncing the inadequacy of the new laws, the ſcandalous violation of them by the Aſſembly themſelves, the ſeditious principles, manœuvres, audacity, and power of the Clubs, the degradation of the Executive Power, ſtripped of every means of execution, &c.; and in thus laying open the true cauſes of our diſaſters, it would have been eaſy for him to point out the propereſt means to remedy them: but through weakneſs, or attachment to the Conſtitution, and perhaps alſo to the Revolution, he endeavoured rather to diſſemble the nature and extent of the evil than to make them known. He imputed it to the inaction of the Executive Power, without conſidering

conſidering that he was ſubſtituting the effect for the cauſe; and that, on the contrary, he ought to have imputed to the Revolution, and its outrages, the total want of power to which the King was reduced. Being a zealous proſelyte of the Revolutionary philoſophy, he rehearſed all its declamations againſt the prieſts, and blamed *Louis* XVI. for retaining near him *perſons, who not having taken the civic oath, ſought to deceive him by a ſacrilegious oppoſition to religion and the law*; and he propoſed to the Aſſembly that they ſhould themſelves denounce thoſe *guilty inſtigators* to his Majeſty by a meſſage; as if the interdiction of the Catholic worſhip had been the neceſſary conſequence of the general liberty of worſhip eſtabliſhed by the Conſtitution: and as if that ſublime and beneficent religion, under the ſhadow of whoſe wing France had proſpered for ſo many ages, had ſuddenly become the ſource of all its woes! He very feelingly lamented the outrages of the 20th of June; but he ſaid not a word of the neceſſity for ſeeing that they were puniſhed, nor of the means of preventing new ones. He contented himſelf with acknowledging *that it was the duty of the Aſſembly to ſecure*

ture to the King, at all times and in all circumſtances, the reſpect due to the firſt public functionary, and not to ſuffer petitioners to forget that the King was alſo the organ of the nation.

"It is another of our duties," added he, "to give his principal agents the ſupport "of our confidence—not of that confidence "that ſlumbers, but of that which hopes "and which believes in virtue. Far be from "us this perpetual need of denunciations, a "ſyſtem deſtructive of ſocial organization." Speaking of popular ſocieties, he brought to mind the important ſervices they had rendered, maintained that the Legiſlative Body had no right to prohibit their meeting in a peaceable manner and without arms, but that they ought to reſtrict them to limits that would prevent their being hurtful; and that the point was not to make new laws on this ſubject, but to enforce the execution of thoſe exiſting. "It is true," ſaid he, "that "the force of laws conſiſts not in themſelves, "but in the ſubmiſſion and confidence of "nations: a nation, however, become free, "a nation who themſelves chooſe both the "delegates and the interpreters of their "will,

" will, are more naturally led to obedience
" becauſe it is themſelves they obey *. In
the end, after announcing that the Commiſ-
ſion were preparing, and would without
delay preſent ſeveral reports on new reſtrain-
ing meaſures, rendered indiſpenſable by the
religious diſturbances; on the abuſes of the
preſs, on the army, and on the great queſ-
tion whether Generals ought to have the full
right of petitioning on ſubjects unconnected
with the profeſſion of arms, the Reporter
very pathetically exclaimed, " Far be from
" us that diſtruſt which has ſo often diſ-
" turbed or ſuſpended your labours! Oh,
" my colleagues! permit me to ſay, Oh,
" my friends, as we are all friends of the
" people and of liberty, let us love, let us
" unite, and the country is ſaved. Are not
" political diſcuſſions enough, without ad-
" ding civil diſcuſſions to them? Often has
" it been ſaid to us, *the Conſtitution or*
" *death*, and I now ſay to you, *union or*
" *ſlavery*."

* This was the uſual language of the optimiſts of the Revolution; but in fact, the laws had never been ſo generally diſregarded, ſo daringly and ſo ſafely violated as they were at this time. The people were guided by no other than that of their will and caprice.

This

This report not openly attacking any party, and even flattering ſome opinions of each, was the more applauded, particularly as the reporter had taken care to ſeaſon it with all the patriotic common places on the ſovereignty of the people, liberty, equality, attachment to the Conſtitution, &c. It was ordered, by a great majority, to be printed and ſent to the Departments, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of ſome furies of the *Coté-gauche*, who thought it irrelevant. They were highly delighted with the furious declamations with which one of their ſpeakers (*Delaunay d'Angers*) made the tribune ring in this debate. This man did not heſitate to advance as a principle, *that until the definitive cloſing of the Revolution, in the meaſures of inſpection or of reſtraint to be adopted againſt conſpirators, diſturbers, and all the enemies of liberty, the Repreſentatives of the nation ought to attend only to the imminence of the public danger, and the ſupreme law of the ſafety of the State; that though the other ſocial authorities could only do what they were ſpecially empowered by the law, it was not the ſame caſe with the Legiſlative Body, who had a right to do whatever the law did not lite-*

rally forbid them; that the maintenance of the Conſtitution itſelf required meaſures which it had not foreſeen, and which it had not formally prohibited. The ſpeaker was interrupted almoſt at every ſentence with the loudeſt applauſe, when to prove the Revolution not yet cloſed, he ſpoke as follows: "A Revolution is not completed when a "General, ſword in hand, dares in a mani- "feſto to give leſſons to the Repreſentatives "of the people; when he leaves his poſt "to apply at the Bar of the National Aſ- "ſembly for what was demanded by *Leo- "pold*, for what is demanded by the Auſ- "trians, the diſſolution of popular ſocieties "created by the Conſtitution; when he "makes himſelf the organ of an armed "force, to which obedience is eſſential, "and which cannot conſtitutionally delibe- "rate. Remember, Gentlemen, that Cæſar "in Gaul, and at the head of a victorious "army, dictated alſo counſels to the Senate "of Rome, and that he ſoon after paſſed "the Rubicon. He was puniſhed for it, "but the example was ſet, and liberty loſt. "I am far from comparing the young Ge- "neral of whom I ſpeak to Cæſar, to that "warrior who had accumulated ſo many

"victories

"victories and triumphs. I ſhall not be "ſuſpected of making compariſons in this "ſenſe, where there is ſo little reſemblance. "I do not tremble for the liberty of my "country; it does not depend on the petty "intrigues of a ſingle man, one who thinks "himſelf the head of a faction, while he "is really but their feeble inſtrument."

The *Coté-gauche* moved that this ſpeech ſhould be printed and ſent to the Departments, as a companion to that of M. *Paſtoret*, which, ſaid the hot-brained *Iſnard*, was only a doſe of opium adminiſtered to one in agony *. But the Aſſembly did no more than order it to be printed, which was demanded by the Members of the *Coté-droit* themſelves, that they might refute the groſs errors, and the dangerous and unconſtitutional principles advanced by the ſpeaker.

M. *de la Fayette*, however, ſeems not to have been quite diſcouraged by the ill ſucceſs of his embaſſy; for on the 10th of July, M. *de Lally* came again to me with an air

* *Iſnard*, ſpeaking of M. *de la Fayette*, ſaid, "This "tribune has been polluted, and by the praiſe of a cri-"minal: it muſt be purified. Inſtead of granting this "raſh ſoldier the honours of the Sitting, he ſhould "have been arreſted immediately, and ſent to Orleans."

of triumph, and putting a paper into my hands, he ſaid, "Read what I am authoriſed "to tranſmit to the King, and remain after- "wards incredulous if you can." It was a long letter written by M. *de la Fayette* from his army, in which he drew a plan (ready, as he ſaid, for execution) to open the way to the King through his enemies, and to eſtabliſh him in ſafety either at Compeigne, or in the North part of France, ſurrounded by his Conſtitutional guards, and by his faithful army. All this was to be done conſtitutionally*.

I tranſmitted this letter to the King, who, notwithſtanding his diſtruſt of M. *de la Fayette* was conſiderably abated, could never believe that he had it in his power to accompliſh the reſtoration of the Monarchy, like another *Monk*; and, beſides, he deemed the plan now propoſed but feebly calculated for that purpoſe. His Majeſty therefore ſent me an obliging but a negative anſwer, to deliver to M. *de Lally*, to be by him tranſmitted to M. *de la Fayette*. It was in theſe words:

* See Private Memoirs, Vol. II. Chap. XXVIII. for more particulars.

"Let

"Let him know that I am ſenſible of "his attachment, in propoſing to incur ſo "much danger; but it would be impru-"dent to put ſo many ſprings in motion at "once. The beſt way he can ſerve me, is "to continue to make himſelf a terror to "the factious, by ably performing his duty "as a General."

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Petition of the Twenty Thouſand—Its Effect upon the Jacobins—The Miniſter of the Interior ſummoned to give an Account of the Execution of the Law of September 29—His Statement—Farther Attacks upon him—Effect produced in the Aſſembly by News of the Evacuation of Ypres, Menin, and Courtray—Decree regulating the Form for declaring the Country to be in Danger—The Abbé Torné's violent Speech—Meſſage from the King to the Aſſembly, on the Approach of the Anniverſary of the 14th of July—Papers

—Papers reſpecting a Loan which the Princes were negociating—The King announces the hoſtile Intentions of Pruſſia—Speech of the Abbé Lamourette, and the ſudden Effect it had in reconciling all Parties in the Aſſembly—The ſpeedy Return of Diſcord—Occurrences relative to Petion's Suſpenſion—Briſſot's Speech reſpecting the Abdication of the Crown—The Department of Paris denounced—The Miniſters give the Aſſembly an Account of the State of the Kingdom, and announce their Reſignation—Shameful Behaviour of the Galleries and ſome of the Deputies on that Occaſion—Propoſal of the Abbé Lamourette reſpecting the Buſineſs of the Mayor—How counteracted—The Country declared to be in Danger.

THE warmth of the debates in the Aſſembly, and the violence of the motions daily made at the Jacobin Club, were not the only cauſes at this time of the ferment prevailing in Paris; it was alſo kept up by the buſtle made by the Royaliſts, in conjunction with the Conſtitutionaliſts, for

procuring ſignatures to a petition, the object of which was to denounce to the Aſſembly the outrages of the 20th of June *as the effect of a conſpiracy againſt the Powers eſtabliſhed by the Conſtitution itſelf, and to demand of them a vengeance ſo ſignal, as to waſh from the nation the ſtain which thoſe outrages would leave upon it, were they to remain unpuniſhed.*

This petition, which was ſaid to have 20,000 * ſignatures, was read at the Bar of the Aſſembly in the Sitting of the 1ſt of July. The reproaches contained in it againſt the Municipality, and againſt the General Commandant of the National guard, whoſe removal from their offices the petitioners formally demanded, created long murmurs in the *Coté-gauche*, and violent clamours in the galleries; but the reſpect impreſſed by the immenſe liſt of ſignatures annexed to this petition, determined the Aſſembly to hear it through, and to grant the honours of the Sitting to the deputation who preſented it.

* It was ſaid in ſome of the newſpapers, that on being examined, the number of ſignatures was found to amount only to 7,411: but this petition nevertheleſs continued to be called the petition of the 20,000.

This

This petition, the ſenſe of which was repeated in a great number of addreſſes which arrived daily from the different Provinces, redoubled the animoſity of the factious againſt the Miniſter of the Interior, whom they charged with provoking theſe remonſtrances by the King's proclamation, which he had drawn up, and againſt the Department of the Somme, whom they accuſed of having given the ſignal for all theſe *Counter-revolutionary* acts, by their reſolution on the events of the 20th of June. They obtained a decree, in conſequence, for the Miniſter to appear and give an account to the Aſſembly of the meaſures which the Executive Power was to have taken relative to the Department of the Somme, conformably to the law of the 29th of September, by which the Adminiſtrators of Departments were prohibited from ſending agents to be about the Legiſlative Body and the King. In obedience to this decree, M. *de Monciel* appeared next day (July 2) in the Aſſembly, and ſtated, that notwithſtanding the law of the 29th of September 1791, the Directories of Adminiſtration had continued ſending Deputies to Paris; that M. *Rolland*, his predeceſſor, had denounced

nounced to the Aſſembly that there were more than 300 attending the Legiſlative and Executive Powers, and had applied for a deciſion to compel thoſe Adminiſtrators to return and remain at their poſts; that his application on a motion reſpecting it had been referred to the Committee of Legiſlation, who had not yet made their report upon it; and that as to the Department of the Somme, they had entered into another reſolution on the 28th of June, by which they recalled the Deputies they had ſent to Paris, and had thus of themſelves corrected whatever might have been irregular in their firſt Reſolution.

The conduct of the Miniſter being fully juſtified by this ſtatement, a new attack was immediately made upon him. An edition of the Reſolution of the Department of the Somme, printed at the Royal printing office, was denounced; and as that printing office was in the department of the Miniſter of the Interior, a motion was made for his being called upon to declare by what orders that edition had been printed. On the queſtion being put to him, he coolly replied that the law which decreed the liberty of the preſs being general, the Royal printing office,

office, which was not excepted, had a right, like all others, to print that Reſolution without any occaſion for an order. "That is not anſwering the queſtion put to you," ſaid ſome Deputy. "You are aſked by what "orders a ſecond edition of the Reſolution "of the Department of the Somme was "printed at the Royal printing office." This queſtion being repeated to him by the Preſident, he anſwered, that he did not recollect that any particular orders were given for printing this Reſolution. This reply, and the Miniſter's coolneſs, only augmented the arrogant petulance of his accuſers. They impudently moved, for the purpoſe of diſcovering the falſity of his declaration, that the Director of the Royal printing office ſhould be immediately ſummoned to the Bar, which was decreed. While waiting his coming, M. *de Monciel* was attacked with another denunciation. One of the Members of the *Coté-gauche* pretended he had information that a neighbouring Department had received officially the Reſolution of the Department of the Somme, had had it reprinted, and had immediately entered into a ſimilar one. On this aſſertion the Preſident was charged to aſk the Miniſter

ter if he had ſent this reſolution to the 83 Departments, or any of them.

This ſucceſſion of queſtions, and the vehemence with which the Miniſter was urged to anſwer them, raiſing a ſuſpicion in his mind that there was a deſign to entrap him by his words, he aſked permiſſion to reply in writing, after examining at his office what had been done relative to the Department of the Somme. Several Members of the *Coté-gauche* brutally called on him to anſwer by *yes* or *no*, and the Aſſembly decreed that he ſhould: but he obſerved, that as this circumſtance was not preſent to his memory, he was equally uncertain as to the *yes* or the *no*, and conſequently could not anſwer the one or the other, till he had conſulted his correſpondence with the Department; and he propoſed to the Aſſembly to appoint Commiſſioners to make the examination with him. This propoſal exaſperated the Members of the *Coté-gauche*, and the Miniſter was groſſly accuſed of impoſture, fraud, and treaſon. It was ſtrongly inſiſted upon that the Aſſembly ſhould declare that they regarded the Miniſter's anſwer as a refuſal to reply, or as a confeſſion; and that they ſhould charge the Commiſſion

of

of the Twelve to make a report on this ſubject without delay. This propoſition, though warmly ſupported, did not ſucceed; but after a long-continued tumult, it was decreed that the Miniſter ſhould make an anſwer in writing; on which he went away, in ſpite of the oppoſition and clamours of a great part of the *Coté-gauche*, who, no doubt, having ſtill ſome new denunciation againſt him, wiſhed to force him to ſtay to anſwer it *.

The news of the evacuation of Ypres, Menin, and Courtray †, which was at this

* M. *de Monciel* wrote next day to the Aſſembly, informing them, that after examining the facts on which he had been queſtioned, he found that the Reſolution of the Department of the Somme was included among the papers relative to the 20th of June; but that no order had been given for its being diſtributed in the Departments. This letter was referred to the Committee of Legiſlation.

† During the evacuation of Courtray, a gun having been fired from a houſe in the ſuburbs at M. *Jarry*, who commanded that advanced poſt, he not only ſet fire to the houſe whence it proceeded, but to a great part of the ſuburbs. This act of military ſeverity, carried perhaps too far, was denounced as an act of treaſon, deſigned to induce the towns moſt diſpoſed in our favour to ſhut their gates againſt us.

moment

moment brought to the Aſſembly, diverted the attack that had been made on M. *de Monciel*, and ſupplied new fuel to the animoſity of the Anti-miniſterial faction. Mareſchal *Luckner*, in his diſpatches to the Miniſter, which were communicated to the Aſſembly, gave as a reaſon for this evacuation, and the retreat to Liſle, *the hoſtile inclinations of the Flemiſh peaſants, who, inſtead of being diſpoſed in our favour, fired on our patrols, and ſtopped our proviſion waggons, while the approach of the Pruſſian and Auſtrian forces endangered his being cut off.* The ſpeakers of the *Coté-gauche*, however, imputed it to the King's proclamation, the ill temper it had raiſed among the ſoldiers. &c.; and a deputation of the citizens of Paris, all Members of the Jacobin Club, appeared at the Bar of the Aſſembly, in the Evening Sitting of the 2d of July, where they repeated theſe abſurd impoſtures, and denounced the King's Council as guilty of publiſhing *that manifeſto of civil war*, and the Staff Officers of the Pariſian National guard as an Ariſtocratic corporation, ever ready to favour the plots formed againſt liberty. Theſe denunciations being repeated in ſeveral other petitions, demanding

manding the diſmiſſion of this Staff, determined the Aſſembly to decree it. The petitioners alſo demanded the permanence of the Aſſemblies of the Sections, maintaining that this meaſure was rendered neceſſary by the dangers of the country; but the Aſſembly dreading the conſequences to themſelves of this general levy of all the active citizens of the Capital, and fearing, at the ſame time, to render themſelves unpopular by a formal refuſal, evaded taking any determination on this demand.

In the midſt of this anarchial effervescence, of this tumult, of theſe horrible convulſions of Revolutionary delirium, the conſideration of the means for providing as well for internal tranquillity, as for the ſafety of the kingdom, became the order of the day, and alarmed all good citizens by debates, the violence of which would have been enough, in the moſt tranquil times, to ſet the whole kingdom in a flame. Of all the ſpeeches made on this occaſion, that of the Deputy *Vergniaux* was the moſt remarkable, not only becauſe it poſſeſſed that kind of tribunitian eloquence which diſtinguiſhed the elder *Mirabeau*, but becauſe the ſpeaker was audacious enough to open in it, under the

the figure of a ſuppoſition, the atrocious plot which the faction, of whom he was the leader, were meditating againſt the King, and which was put in execution on the 10th of Auguſt following*. The reiterated applauſes beſtowed on the ſpeaker by a great part of the Aſſembly, and by all in the galleries, ſhewed beforehand who were to be future accomplices. M. *Dumas*, although interrupted at almoſt every ſentence by murmurs, clamours, or inſolent queſtions, refuted all *Vergniaux*'s arguments with as much energy as ſolidity, and with as great effect as it was poſſible to have, in reſpect to all his hearers over whom truth and juſtice preſerved any empire. Theſe moved that M. *Dumas*' ſpeech ſhould be printed, and it was at firſt ordered, but on the vehement remonſtrances of the *Coté-gauche*, the motion was a ſecond time debated and rejected.

The ſpeakers of the *Coté-gauche* all ſupported *Vergniaux*'s motion, which was, that it ſhould be decreed that the country was in danger; that the Miniſters ſhould be reſponſible for internal commotions on the pretence of religion, and for all invaſion

* See Appendix, No. XXI

of

of the French territory, that ſhall happen in conſequence of ſufficient precautions not having been taken to complete in time the camp which the Aſſembly had decreed to be formed. It was impoſſible to tell the Miniſters more clearly that a ſpeedy retreat was the only means of ſaving themſelves from a decree of impeachment, and they loſt no time in taking advantage of this notice*. The diſcuſſion on the motion for decreeing that the country was in danger being opened, it was neceſſary firſt to determine the form in which this declaration was to be made, and the meaſures with which it was to be accompanied; for nothing on this head had been ordained by the Conſtitution. The debates which aroſe on theſe queſtions were followed by a decree, of which I ſhall content myſelf with reporting the preamble and principal articles.

"The National Aſſembly conſidering that "the multiplied efforts of the enemies of "order, and the propagation of every kind

* M. *Duranthon*, the Miniſter of Juſtice, was the firſt that reſigned, and he was ſucceeded by M. *de Joly*, who a few days before had been appointed Secretary to the Council.

" of diſturbance in various parts of the " Empire, at the moment when the nation, " for the maintenance of its liberty, is en- " gaged in a foreign war, may endanger " the common weal, and give an idea that " the ſucceſs of our political regeneration is " uncertain; conſidering it to be their duty " to anticipate theſe poſſible events, and by " firm, wiſe, and preciſe regulations, to " prevent a confuſion as injurious to liberty " and the citizens, as the danger itſelf " would then be; deſiring that at this junc- " ture vigilance ſhould be general, execu- " tion more active, and, above all, that the " ſword of the law ſhould be inceſſantly " before the eyes of thoſe who, by a cri- " minal inactivity, by treacherous projects, " or by the boldneſs of a wicked conduct, " ſhould attempt to diſturb the harmony of " the State; convinced, that by reſerving to " themſelves the right of declaring danger, " they delay the approach of it, and reſtore " tranquillity to the minds of good citizens: " true to the oath they have taken, *to live* " *free or die*, ſupported by the ſenſe of " their duty, and the wiſhes of the people " for whom they exiſt, DECREE:

" Art. 1. When the ſafety, interior or " exterior,

"exterior, of the State ſhall be threatened, "and the Legiſlative Body ſhall judge it "indiſpenſable to take extraordinary mea- "ſures, they ſhall declare it by an Act of "Legiſlation in the following form:

"*Citizens! the country is in danger.*

"Art. 2. As ſoon as this declaration is "publiſhed, the Councils of Departments "and of Diſtricts ſhall aſſemble, and they, "as well as the Municipalities and general "Councils, ſhall be in permanent ſuperin- "tendence. All public officers, civil and "military, ſhall repair to their poſts.

"Art. 3. All citizens capable of bearing "arms, and who have already ſerved in the "National guard, ſhall be alſo in a ſtate of "permanent activity."

The other articles, to the number of four- teen, directed, 1ſt, that all the citizens ſhould declare before their Muncipality the number and nature of the arms, and the quantity of ammunition with which they were provided: 2dly, that there ſhould be meetings by Cantons of all the National guards, to chooſe from among them the number of men to be furniſhed by each Canton, according to the levy required of

each Department by the Legiſlative Body, and to be divided again by them among the different Cantons: 3dly, the organization of theſe National guards into companies, the manner of arming them, their pay, and their aſſembling at places that ſhould be pointed out to them by the Executive Power: 4thly, the pain of death to be inflicted on every perſon wearing a badge of rebellion; and particularly thoſe who ſhould wear any other cockade than the National tri-coloured one, &c. &c. By the laſt article it was ſettled, that when the danger of the country ceaſed, the National Aſſembly ſhould declare it by another Legiſlative Act in the following form:

"*Citizens! the country is no longer in* "*danger.*"

The articles relative to the full reſponſibility of the Miniſters were adjourned.

The ſpeaker who puſhed audacity and plebeian frenzy to the greateſt height in this diſcuſſion, was the Abbé *Torné*, formerly a Doctrinarian, an indifferent preacher, and a bad prieſt, who had riſen by his intrigues, under the protection of the Clubs, to one of the pretended Epiſcopal Sees of the Conſtitutional

tutional Church *. This vile renegado, after daring to utter a moſt atrocious declamation on the conduct of the King, whom he accuſed of ſupporting the ſeditious and all the enemies of liberty, and of abetting the league of foreign Powers againſt France, argued, that to adhere to Conſtitutional meaſures in circumſtances ſo urgent, was to conſent to the death of the people by the Conſtitution, and that neither people nor Conſtitution could be ſaved but by Unconſtitutional meaſures. He propoſed, in conſequence, to create, for the time that the common weal continued in danger, an extraordinary power, ſuperior to all the powers eſtabliſhed by the Conſtitution, and to veſt it in the Legiſlative Body. The reſt of his ſpeech was made up of violent declamations againſt the foreign Powers, the Princes, the Nobility, the Emigrants, the Nonjuring Prieſts, and M. *de la Fayette*, for his late conduct towards the Aſſembly †. Theſe groſs

* He was appointed to the Biſhopric of Bourges.

† "And you, O hero of the two worlds!" ſaid he in an apoſtrophe ſufficiently quaint, "You have done "enough for your glory. All worthy people are ready "to crown you, and almoſt to acknowledge you their

groſs impertinences were loudly applauded by the galleries, and ſeveral Members of the *Coté-gauche*, who were ſo ſhameleſs as to demand that the ſpeech ſhould be printed; but the Conſtitutional party oppoſed it with the moſt vehement indignation, and moved that the Speaker ſhould be ſent to the Abbaye. This motion excited nearly an equal degree of murmuring and applauſe, and was not adopted by the Aſſembly, who contented themſelves with paſſing to the order of the day.

At this time the new Miniſter of Juſtice came to the Aſſembly with a meſſage from the King, on the occaſion of the approaching feſtival of the Federation. This meſſage, dictated by ſentiments very different from thoſe that had juſt been aſcribed by the Biſhop of Bourges to his Majeſty, was as follows:

"Gentlemen, we are approaching the "celebrated period when the French in all "parts of the Empire will commemorate

"Viceroy. You have overcome the formidable tribune "of the Jacobins, though the Conſtitution was its rampart. As a memorial of this triumph, poſterity ſhall "ſay, *La Fayette the Jacobin*, as at Rome it was ſaid, "*Scipio the African*."

"the

" the compact of union contracted on the " altar of the country, on the 14th of July " 1790. The law prohibits all particular " Federation, and permits only an annual " renewal of the Federative Oath in the " chief place of each district; but we have " a measure which, without the slightest " infringement on the letter of the law, " seems to me proportionate to the great " events rapidly occurring everywhere. " When a great nation is compelled to wage " war to defend its liberty, it is then parti- " cularly that it becomes completely sensi- " ble of the necessity of maintaining peace " at home: it is when intestine dissensions " coincide with foreign war, and when bad " men excite commotions, that peaceable " citizens should be relieved of their appre- " hensions. It must be proved to the ar- " mies that they are fighting for peace and " for liberty; and it has occurred to me, " that no surer pledge can be given to them " than the meeting of the two Powers to " renew the same vow; that of living free, " or dying.

" A great number of Frenchmen are " hastening from all the Departments; it " may give double vigour to their arms,

" if, previous to their ſetting out for the " frontiers they are admitted to the Fede- " ration with their brethren of Paris. It " is my wiſh to go in the midſt of you to " receive their oath, and to prove to the " ill diſpoſed, who are ſeeking to ruin the " country by dividing us, that we have " but one mind, that of the Conſtitution, " and that it is chiefly by peace at home " that we would prepare the way for our " victories, and enſure them."

This meſſage was ſeveral times applauded. There aroſe, however, ſome debates, as ſtupid as indecent, on the ſenſe of theſe words, *it is my wiſh to go in the midſt of you to receive their oath.* Some ſubtle arguers laboured to prove that by this expreſſion the King advanced the alarming pretenſion of receiving alone the oath of the Federates*.

The

* This abſurd interpretation being adopted and publiſhed by ſeveral Journaliſts, put the King to the neceſſity of declaring next day to the Aſſembly, by the Miniſter of Juſtice, that it was not by him alone that the oath of the Federates was to be received, but that his Majeſty thought he might receive it with the Legiſlative Body, and that the meſſage taken altogether could leave no doubt of his meaning. The Jacobins, enraged at ſeeing this

The Miniſter for Foreign Affairs went on the ſame day, in the Evening Sitting, to notify, by the King's order, to the Aſſembly three important papers, which had been ſent to him by one of our Miniſters at the German Courts, and the part his Majeſty had taken on the occaſion. The firſt of theſe papers was an act, by which the King's brothers had commiſſioned M. *Harel de la Vertu* to open propoſals, on their account, in the name of the King, and on a mortgage of all the revenues of the kingdom, for a loan of two millions of livres, to purchaſe corn, and ſix millions, to meet the other expences of the war; *ſeeing*, it was ſaid in the act, *that this war is undertaken for the good of the kingdom and of the King.*

The ſecond paper was a letter written by M. *de Calonne* to M. *Harel de la Vertu* and the Abbé *Poiſſonier* his coadjutor, urging them, by the diſtreſs of the Princes,

this wretched artifice expoſed before it produced its effect, argued that, as this declaration was not made in the form eſtabliſhed by the Conſtitution for the communications of the King with the Legiſlative Body, the Aſſembly ought to conſider it as a nullity, and paſs to the order of the day.

to

to be doubly active in the buſineſs of the loan of eight millions. The third was an engagement to furniſh this ſum, ſigned by *Harel de la Vertu*, who bound himſelf to have the loan filled.

To the reading of theſe papers ſucceeded that of the proclamation, which the Miniſter was charged to notify to the foreign Powers, and by which the King ſolemnly diſavowed all declarations, proteſtations, negociations, loans, levies of military forces, purchaſes of arms and ammunition of any kind, and, generally, all acts public and private done in his name *by the Princes, and by the other Emigrants*; declaring that, being fully devoted to the cauſe of the French nation, of which he was the hereditary Repreſentative, he would make uſe of all the power the Conſtitution had placed in his hands, againſt the enemies of France, whatever might be their pretext for tolerating the armed bodies of the Emigrants, or for ſupporting them in their hoſtile operations*.

Another meſſage from the King announced on the following day to the Aſſembly, that

* See this notification, Appendix, No. XXII.

it

it was no longer poſſible to doubt the hoſtile intentions of the King of Pruſſia in reſpect to France; that they were manifeſted by the diſmiſſion of our *Chargé d'Affaires* at Berlin, by the departure of the Pruſſian Envoy Extraordinary without taking leave, by the marching of the Pruſſian troops, and by their aſſembling on our frontiers to the number of 52,000 men. All theſe circumſtances united, eſtabliſhed the caſe of *impending hoſtilities*, of which the Conſtitutional Act bound the King to give notice to the Legiſlative Body.

Theſe three meſſages were cenſured as ſeverely as unjuſtly by the violent of all parties. The Jacobins convinced, and what was more, intereſted in maintaining that the King deteſted the Conſtitution, and thought only on the means of annihilating it; imputed falſhood, hypocriſy, and treachery to all his Conſtitutional meaſures. This imputation was an atrocious calumny. I ſhall not certainly pretend to ſay that *Louis* XVI. loved the Conſtitution: he had not promiſed to love it; but he had ſworn to execute it, and he was always ſcrupulouſly true to his oath. I believe too that, after it became the inſtrument of his misfortunes, and of thoſe

thoſe of his family, and of all the calamities that deſolated France, he wiſhed to ſee it, not violently overthrown, but wiſely reformed, according to the deſire of the nation, taught by their own experience*. Could ſo natural a wiſh be other than reaſonable?

The Royaliſts had no better grounds for complaining of the King's denouncing to the Aſſembly, the meaſures they were taking, and the trouble they were giving themſelves to ſerve him. Even had his oath not made it a duty to act thus, the dangers of his ſituation would have made it a neceſſity: and let it be remembered, that the forced change of the whole Diplomatic Body had placed in almoſt every Department the creatures of the ruling faction, or at leaſt men generally more diſpoſed to ſerve the Revolution than the King; that their offices, as well as thoſe of the Department of Foreign Affairs, were ſo beſet and

* Although the King knew perfectly well the defects of the New Conſtitution, and experienced more than any one elſe the deplorable effects of it, yet he approved of ſome of its regulations, and theſe his Majeſty would have wiſhed preſerved.

watched

watched by the emiſſaries or ſecret agents of the Jacobins, that the King's meſſages were very ſeldom more than the official confirmation of news which the factious knew before he did from the reports of their ſpies; and that theſe meſſages too were commonly ſo tardy, that the Aſſembly often cenſured the Miniſters ſeverely for it, while the ſpeakers of the *Cotè-gauche* accuſed them of treaſon. What a weight would not the ſilence or inaction of the King have given to thoſe cenſures?

But it will be ſaid, "how is this ſolemn "diſavowal of all negociations with foreign "Powers to be reconciled with the ſecret "miſſion of *Mallet-du-Pan*, and the nego-"ciations which the King had charged him "to tranſact with thoſe very Princes? The anſwer to this is very ſimple. The King's diſavowal, according to the clear and preciſe terms in which it was expreſſed, could be applied only to the negociations, and public or private acts carried on and done in his name by his brothers, or by the Emigrants: however laudable the motive of their conduct, their proceedings were carried on without the King's having any ſhare in them, and, conſequently, without any approbation or authority whatever on the part of

of his Majeſty. But *Mallet-du-Pan* was not in the claſs of Emigrants, and his miſſion far from having any object hoſtile to France, was deſigned, on the contrary, to engage the Powers, againſt whom war had been declared, to act only on the defenſive, to conſider it as foreign to the nation and the King, who ſtill preſerved the ſame ſentiments towards them, and to ſpare and protect the property of all the peaceable citizens. This negociation, ſo worthy of the humanity of *Louis* XVI. and of his love for the French, had nothing to do with thoſe which his prudence and our counſels determined him to diſavow: thus in no point of view can it give grounds for ſuſpecting the ſincerity and candour of this avowal.

The news of the junction of the Pruſſian troops with thoſe of the Emperor brought back the Aſſembly to the diſcuſſion of the meaſures to be taken for the general ſafety of the State. *Briſſot*, who had prepared a long ſpeech on this ſubject, was going to addreſs the Aſſembly, when, on a motion of order, the Abbé *Lamourette** ſpoke firſt. He obſerved, that before they thought of remedies,

* The Conſtitutional Biſhop of Lyons.

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it was neceſſary to endeavour to be well acquainted with the malady, that hitherto no one had traced it to its real cauſe; that it exiſted in the diviſions, which tore the National Aſſembly and the nation itſelf, of which the Legiſlative Body was the true thermometer. "What!" ſaid he, "you have "in your hands the key of the public wel-"fare, yet you are taking ſuch pains to find "it in uncertain laws, and you reject "the means of reſtoring peace and union "in your own boſom!—It depends only "upon yourſelves to chooſe a noble and "ſolemn moment to offer to France and to "all Europe a ſight as formidable to your "enemies as delightful and affecting to all "the friends of liberty. Reſtore to this "Aſſembly, now enfeebled by an unhappy "diviſion, the unity of the National Re-"preſentation. To do this, all that is re-"quiſite is to underſtand one another. To "what, in fact, may all theſe diſtruſts be "reduced? One part of the Aſſembly aſ-"cribes to the other the ſeditious deſign of "deſtroying the Monarchy; the others "aſcribe to their colleagues the intention of "deſtroying the Conſtitutional equality, and "of eſtabliſhing the Ariſtocratical Govern-

"ment,

" ment, known under the name of the Two " Chambers. Theſe are the ſad diſtruſts " by which the Empire is divided. Well, " Gentlemen, let us annihilate, by a general " execration, and by an irrevocable oath, " let us annihilate for ever both the Repub- " lic and the Two Chambers." At theſe words the Hall reſounded with unanimous plaudits from the Aſſembly and the galleries, and with repeated cries of, *Yes, yes, we will have only the Conſtitution!* " Well," reſumed the Speaker, " let us " ſwear then to have but one mind, one " ſentiment, to be but one and the ſame " body of free men, equally formidable to " the ſpirit of anarchy and the ſpirit of the " feudal ſyſtem; and the moment when the " reſt of Europe ſhall ſee that we have de- " termined only upon a fixed thing, and " that we are all determined upon it, " will be the moment when liberty ſhall " triumph and France be ſaved." The plaudits were repeated with rapture, and continued a long time. The Speaker then propoſed that the Preſident ſhould addreſs the Aſſembly in the following words: *Let thoſe who equally abjure and execrate the Republic and the two Chambers riſe.*

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'The whole Aſſembly roſe, the galleries clapped, and all the Members, ſtanding in the attitude uſed for the oath, declared together never to ſuffer, either by the introduction of the Republican Syſtem or the eſtabliſhment of the Two Chambers, any alteration whatever in the Conſtitution. In the firſt moment of enthuſiaſm a general cry of *Unite* was heard. Immediately the Members of the *Coté-droit* and of the *Coté-gauche* roſe, met, embraced, mixed with one another, and ſat down together indiſcriminately in the different parts of the Hall. The mutual diſtruſts, and the very denominations of the ſects and parties ſeemed cordially forgotten on both ſides. This fraternal ſcene laſted above a quarter of an hour, as did the plaudits of the ſpectators, who expreſſed their ſympathy and joy by rapturous acclamations.

The firſt motion made after this intereſting moment, and unanimouſly adopted, was, that a deputation of twenty-four Members ſhould be immediately ſent to the King, to preſent him a copy of the Reſolution which had juſt been taken. It was at the ſame time decreed, that all the Adminiſtrative and Judicial Bodies of Paris ſhould be in-

vited that very day to the Evening Sitting; and that the Preſident, after reading to them the minutes of the Morning Sitting, ſhould declare to them, that, as it had ever been the unanimous will of the National Aſſembly to maintain liberty and the Conſtitution in an unſhaken manner, they now called upon them, in the name of the country, doubly to augment their zeal and activity in the functions delegated to them by the Conſtitution, and to tranſmit by their conduct the example of union and fraternity, which the National Aſſembly had juſt given to the whole Empire. The Aſſembly alſo decreed, that their Reſolution ſhould be ſent to the 83 Departments.

Briſſot aſked and obtained permiſſion to reviſe his ſpeech before he delivered it, in order to eraſe all that might recal the remembrance of diviſions, which he regarded as for ever annihilated. In a word, all parties, all individuals, ſeemed only animated with the deſire of effacing every trace of their former diſſenſions. Unhappily, this deſire, which was too naturally and too eagerly expreſſed not to have been ſincere, but which was alſo too violent to be laſting, vaniſhed with the moment of enthuſiaſm

ſiaſm which had given birth to it; and the Evening Sitting of the ſame day deſtroyed all the hopes which might have been conceived from that of the Morning. It was that very evening that the Aſſembly treated with a ſhocking brutality the letter written to them by the King on the ſubject of the Reſolution of the Department, which ſuſpended the Mayor and *Procureur* of the *Commune* of Paris proviſionally*. "As "this Reſolution," ſaid the King in his letter, "relates to facts in which I am per- "ſonally concerned, the firſt dictate of my "heart is to requeſt the National Aſſembly "themſelves to determine reſpecting this "event." This mark of confidence, this affecting requeſt, this declining of all interference in his own cauſe, natural to a conſcience ſo delicate as that of *Louis* XVI., was indecently repulſed as a violation of the Conſtitution, which did not permit any Conſtituted Power to transfer its functions to another: and for this reaſon, which was not only abſurd but Unconſtitutional, the Aſſembly determined that they could not, till after the King had decided, take any ſtep reſpecting the

* Appendix, No. XXIII.

Reſolution of the Department of Paris, and unanimouſly paſſed to the order of the day.

That the reaſon given was inconſiſtent with the Conſtitution will appear from the following conſideration. The Reſolution of the Department was not confined to ſuſpending proviſionally the Mayor and *Procureur* of the *Commune*, it ordered that they ſhould be arraigned before a Court of Juſtice, for having favoured, by their diſobedience of the law, and by their negligence, the outrages committed againſt the perſon of the King on the 20th of June. This Reſolution then was, in reality, a decree of impeachment, on which the King could not act without confirming or diſmiſſing the impeachment, and conſequently without exerciſing in part the functions of the Judicial Power in his own cauſe, functions, from which he was excluded in all caſes by the firſt article of the fifth chapter of the Conſtitution. But the powerful cabal who ſupported *Petion* were determined to ſave him at any rate, and whatever means tended to that end were lawful in their eyes. The ſhorteſt and ſureſt was, to cauſe the Reſolution of the Department to be annulled by the Council; and they flattered themſelves that they ſhould intimidate

intimidate the Miniſters into it. The manœuvres of this cabal ſoon cauſed the affecting impreſſion which had been made by the Abbé *Lamourette*'s motion, and the oaths of union and fraternity that had followed it, to be forgotten. Deputations from almoſt all the ſections of the Capital appeared at the Bar of the Aſſembly with ſeditious petitions, praying that the *virtuous Petion* and the *Procureur* of the *Commune* might be ſpeedily and honourably reinſtated in their functions.

Briſſot, who at the time of the Aſſembly's taking the oath of union and peace in the Sitting of the 7th, had requeſted time to expunge from his ſpeech whatever might recal the remembrance of the diviſions extinquiſhed by that oath, ſuppreſſed only ſuch perſonal reflections in it as might injure his colleagues; but this ſhameleſs conſpirator retrenched nothing from the violent declamations or atrocious charges which he had dared to direct againſt the King, the Miniſters, and the Court, as will be ſeen by the following paſſages :—

" The country is in danger;" ſaid he, " for our ſtrength has been paralyſed. And " to whom is this fatal lethargy owing? " To a ſingle man, whom the nation has

" made its chief, and whom perfidious
" courtiers have made its enemy. I ſay,
" that to ſtrike the Court of the Thuilleries
" is to ſtrike all the traitors with a ſingle
" blow, for that Court is the point where
" all the nerves of conſpiracy meet. The
" nation is the ſport of that Cabinet; that
" is to ſay, of ſome intriguers who ſway
" it. There it is that the moſt vigorous
" blows are to be given: every half-meaſure
" betrays a weak ſpirit. One muſt apply
" cauſtics to gangrened parts, and not ſet
" about gravely ſcratching the legs when
" the abſceſs is in the head.—It is not to
" be doubted that there exiſts a plot, of
" which the heart is at the Court, and
" which includes ſeveral Adminiſtrations of
" Departments, and leaders of our armies;
" and that all the dangers, internal and ex-
" ternal, are the fruit of that plot. The
" Executive Power is guilty of the pro-
" tection granted to the Emigrants, of the
" delays in the war, of the giving up of
" Brabant, of the ſuperſeding of the Pa-
" triot Miniſters, and filling their places
" with intriguers adverſe to the war, of
" General *La Fayette*'s inaction, of the
" torpor of *Luckner*'s army, of his ſilence
" on

" on the march of the Pruſſians. Caſt
" your eyes on the interior, and you will
" perceive the effects of that plot. The
" intriguers are for peace abroad but war at
" home, becauſe Anarchy aſſiſts the pro-
" jects of Deſpotiſm. Remember the pro-
" tection given to the prieſts, the procla-
" mations meant to diſcredit the Aſſembly,
" the audacity of the Juſtice of Peace, *La*
" *Riviere*, the conduct of that Counter-
" revolutionary guard, which, notwith-
" ſtanding your decree ſtill exiſts, for it is
" ſtill paid. Attend to the comedy played
" by the Miniſter of the Interior relative to
" the Unconſtitutional Reſolution of the
" Department of the Somme, which he
" cauſed to be printed at the expence of
" the nation, when he ſhould have annulled
" it; and to that proclamation, no leſs
" Unconſtitutional, on the occurrences of
" the 20th of June: What was the motive
" of it? By what right was that procla-
" mation, ſlandering the people of Paris,
" publiſhed and ſent in thouſands to our
" armies? If the King is guilty, let it be
" ſaid frankly. All compoſition with the
" Executive Power would be a crime.
" You have not the right of remitting the

" puniſhment when a great crime has been
" committed againſt the liberty of the
" people; you ought to be as inflexible as
" the law. If there are any vague or
" doubtful ordinances in the Conſtitution,
" there is one infallible rule for interpreting
" them Conſtitutionally, and that is the
" public welfare. The Conſtitution ſays,
" that if the King retracts his oath, he is
" deemed to have abdicated; but does it
" mean by this, an oral or written retrac-
" tion; and would not a King, who, with-
" out ſo retracting his oath, violates it,
" come under the ſame caſe? Would a
" King, who ſhould notify in writing his
" oppoſition to Unconſtitutional ſteps taken
" in his name, yet who in reality ſhould
" oppoſe them but feebly, or not at all,
" come within the caſe provided by the
" Conſtitution? He ought to oppoſe them
" by a voluntary regal act. Has the King
" done any ſuch act? What is it? Is it the
" declaration of war? That is not an act
" entirely regal. Is it his laſt proclamation
" relative to a contract made in his name
" by the Princes? It was not ſigned by
" him; he did not notify it himſelf, he
" only cauſed it to be notified by his Miniſ-
" ter;

" ter; and it is known that for a long time " the foreign Courts have paid attention " only to what is written and ſigned by the " King. When I propoſed this queſtion, it " was not without ſome trouble, and the in- " veſtigation of it has been very painful " to my heart; but it muſt be decided, and " you ought to charge your Committee to " examine it with care; indifference would " be a crime. The King came among you, " and ſwore to be united; however, I do not " find that he has yet ſanctioned the Decree " on the mode of declaring the danger of " the country.

" I move then, *in the name of the King*, " that his conduct be inveſtigated, and that " after having declared that the country is " in danger, you take into conſideration " that article of the Conſtitution which " ordains, that in the caſe of the King's " not formally oppoſing any enterpriſes " entered upon in his name againſt the Con- " ſtitution, he ſhall be deemed to have ab- " dicated. We muſt define what the Con- " ſtitution means by theſe words: *Formal* " *act, retraction of the oath.* It muſt be " underſtood, whether it be a formal oppo- " ſition, or a mere formality, in order that

" it

" it may not be poſſible in future to draw " arguments from the obſcurity of the law " for eſcaping the penalty incurred by the " greateſt of crimes."

This mad ſpeech, of which the concluſions were the ſame as thoſe of *Vergniaux*'s, was ſpoken and loudly applauded in the Sitting of the 9th of July, only two days after the oath of union and peace, taken with ſo much unanimity and enthuſiaſm; and the Aſſembly, who ſhould have paſſed a cenſure of infamy upon the ſpeaker, ordered it to be printed and ſent to the Commiſſion of the Twelve. At this moment the Miniſters entered the Hall, to lay before the Aſſembly the ſtate of the kingdom. The report made on this ſubject by the Miniſter of Juſtice, was referred to the Committee of Legiſlation, after having been frequently interrupted by the moſt indecent motions of impatience. " While the Mi- " niſter is giving us a doſe of opium here," ſaid a Deputy, " the enemy is marching " ten leagues a day. Let us at leaſt have " back the Magiſtrate choſen by the peo- " ple." The diſcontent redoubled when the Miniſters, on being interrogated reſpecting the part which the King had taken relative

tive to the ſuſpenſion of *Petion* and *Manuel*, replied that the King would cauſe an account of it to be laid before him as ſoon as the papers were ſent to him; and read a letter from the *Procureur-Syndic* of the Department, ſtating that they could not be done in leſs than two days. The moſt extravagant motions followed one after another with incredible rapidity. Some were for removing *Petion*'s ſuſpenſion immediately, without waiting for the papers, or even for the King's determination; others propoſed to annul the Reſolution of the Department, and the Department itſelf, as infected with the Counter-revolutionary ſpirit; and theſe propoſitions were ſupported by the warmeſt applauſe. The Aſſembly, however, confined themſelves to decreeing that the Secretary of the Department ſhould lay upon the table, in the courſe of the Sitting, the Regiſter of Reſolutions.

The Regiſter being brought, ſeveral Deputies ran up to examine it, and obſerved that the Reſolution concerning *Petion* and *Manuel* was not ſigned. There was inſtantly a general cry for denouncing this infringement of the law, and the Members of the Department as forgers, inveterate againſt

againſt a Magiſtrate of irreproachable honeſty. "If *Petion* is not an honeſt man," ſaid the villain *Thuriot*, "there is no more "virtue upon earth." The Secretary of the Department in vain repreſented that the Minute of the Reſolution was ſigned with the uſual formality on each page by all the Members of the Directory; that it was the cuſtom of the Department to have all their Reſolutions tranſcribed into ſix authentic Regiſters, according to the ſubject matter; and that it was not till this was completed, that the Regiſters could be ſigned. The denunciation againſt the Department was admitted, and referred to the Committee of the Twelve.

The Miniſters retired in the midſt of this tumult, and were hooted as they went out. They returned next day to the Aſſembly, and gave, each as to his own Department, the new account which had been required of them of the ſituation of the kingdom. This account in great part referred to their former reports. They declared that their duty did not permit them to conceal that the popular ſocieties, their affiliations, and their manœuvres, were the principal cauſe of all the troubles: and that in ſeveral towns they did

did not confine themſelves to thwarting the Conſtituted Authorities in their operations, but often ſummoned them to their Bar.

The Miniſter of War ſtated, that as the three combined armies of Auſtria and Pruſſia amounted to 200,000 men, and ours, including that of the South, only to 190,000 diſpoſable troops, it was neceſſary to take into conſideration, as ſpeedily as poſſible, the formation of the volunteer companies propoſed by the King, and intended to ſucceed the garriſons.

The Miniſter of the Marine had ſaid ſeveral times before, and now repeated, that every thing was ſtill to be done in that Department, notwithſtanding his own ſolicitations, and thoſe of his predeceſſors, for decrees abſolutely neceſſary for its organization; that he had written, to no purpoſe, a great number of letters to the Aſſembly, requeſting deciſions, which were indiſpenſable, on the mode of appointing new officers *.

* This teſtimony, ſolemnly given by a Miniſter whoſe patriotiſm could not be ſuſpected, is enough to prove the injuſtice and the abſurdity of the blame that had been caſt upon me, on this ſubject, by the rabble of Breſt, and their worthy Repreſentatives in the Marine Committee, the *Cavaliers*, *Rochiers*, &c.

It

It appeared, from the political view given by M. *de Chambonas*, the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, that Auſtria did not look with a favourable eye on the war into which ſhe had been forced; that ſhe would even be diſpoſed to renew negociations, provided they were opened on other grounds than the treaty of Verſailles, and that an end were put to acts of provocation *.

All the Miniſters then collectively declared, by the Miniſter of Juſtice, that it was not in their power to ſave the kingdom from the anarchy which, in this weak ſtate of the public force, and of the degradation of the Conſtituted Authorities, threatened to overwhelm every thing. "After this "confeſſion," added he, "we ought to "inform you, that having accepted the "offices of the Miniſtry ſolely with the "wiſh and hope of doing good in them, "we think, that when that cannot be the "caſe, we ought to reſign them. We have "conſequently the honour of announcing

* See the account given by the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs on the 8th of July 1792: *Appendix*, No. XXIV.

"to

" to you, that this morning we all gave in " our reſignation to the King *.

At this news the galleries expreſſed their joy in general burſts of applauſe, and the brutality of thoſe brigands was immediately followed by the majority of the Members of the *Coté-gauche*. The Miniſters exaſperated, ſuddenly withdrew. The Aſſembly, aſhamed of the ſcandalous act they had committed, ſhowed their laſt vaniſhing ſparks of ſhame, by the profound ſilence they obſerved for ſeven or eight minutes after the departure of the Miniſters. They then reſumed the debate on the motion declaring the country in danger. The Abbé *Lamourette* put them in mind of the ſolemn oath they had taken on his motion, and inſiſted on the neceſſity of adhering faithfully to it. " Before you ſound the alarm throughout the " Empire," ſaid he, " you ought to ſmo- " ther all the ſeeds of diviſion and diſcord " ready to break forth in the Capital, from " the ſequel of the buſineſs relative to the " Mayor. It is proper that the Legiſlative " Body ſhould unite with the King, in or-

* When the King accepted it, he deſired they would continue their functions till he could find ſucceſſors for them, and he informed the Aſſembly of it.

" der

" der to declare together formally, that " what paſſed on the 20th of June ſhould " be forgotten. The union of the Legiſla- " tive Body with the King is one of the " moſt powerful means of reſiſting the " enemy. Diſmiſs your hatreds, your re- " ſentments, your mutual diſtruſts, and " inſtead of declaring that the country is " in danger, you will be able to proclaim " that it is ſaved." The Aſſembly ordered this ſpeech, and the plan for a decree with which it concluded, to be printed.

This opinion was too congenial with the King's character for clemency and extreme indulgence, not to have been eagerly adopted by him, had the conſequence of it not been the devoting to the cenſure and vengeance of the people the Directory of the Department, whoſe zeal, fidelity, and conduct, as regular as brave, deſerved approbation and protection. His Majeſty endeavoured in vain to avoid deciding on this buſineſs, the Aſſembly perſiſted, and would not even give him time to hear what *Petion* and *Manuel* might have to ſay in their defence*.

While

* The papers relative to this buſineſs were ſent to the Miniſter of Juſtice on the 10th of July at ten o'clock at

While the Council were deliberating on this affair, and the Legiſlative Body on the act which was to declare the country in danger *, the Clubs and Sections of the Capital were occupied entirely with the ſuſpenſion of the Mayor and *Procureur-Syndic*, and were conſtantly ſending deputations to the Aſſembly, to demand the ſpeedy reinſtatement of *Petion*, whoſe inaction was repreſented as a real public calamity: and their

at night. He gave the Aſſembly notice of it next morning, and informed them that he had applied to *Petion* and *Manuel* to give him, either in writing or perſonally, whatever explanations they might think of uſe to their defence. But a letter from *Petion*, which was read immediately after that of the Miniſter, cauſed this application to be conſidered as a manœuvre employed to protract his ſuſpenſion by new delays; and after ſome debate, it was decreed that the Executive Power ſhould be required to decide on the Reſolution of the Department, and ſend his deciſion to the Legiſlative Body by twelve o'clock next day, with all the papers relative to that buſineſs.

* This act, decreed after a long report made by M. *Herault de Sechelles*, was as follows:

"Large armies are advancing towards our frontiers. "All thoſe who hold liberty in horror are arming "againſt our Conſtitution.

"Citizens, the country is in danger.

their alarm roſe to the higheſt pitch, when they learned that two Juſtices of the Peace had iſſued writs to have him and *Manuel* brought before them. *Bazire* concluded from this that the danger of the country was ſo great, that the Aſſembly ſhould not heſitate to declare themſelves permanent. Another Member of the *Coté-gauche*, in ſupport of this motion, impudently aſſerted that he had heard that there were thirty writs of arreſt ready to be iſſued againſt Deputies of the Legiſlative Body; and this impoſture determined the Aſſembly to decree that the Sitting ſhould continue all night. To complete this farce, twenty citizens of the Fauxbourg St. Marcel were introduced at the Bar, and their whole buſineſs was to announce to the Aſſembly that they were juſt come from the

"Let thoſe who are about to obtain the honour of "marching the firſt to defend all that is moſt dear to "them, remember always that they are Frenchmen, "and free: that their fellow citizens at home are main-"taining the ſecurity of perſons and property. Let "the Magiſtrates of the people be vigilant; and let all, "with that calm courage which is the reſult of real "ſtrength, prepare to act on the ſignal of the law, and "the country will be ſaved."

The Aſſembly at the ſame time decreed an Addreſs to the citizens, and another to the army. *Appendix*, No. XXV.

Mayor's

Mayor's Houſe, where a Municipal Officer had told them that *Petion* was in bed, *enjoying peaceful and tranquil ſlumbers*; but that the inhabitants of the Fauxbourgs and all good patriots would always be awake when the point was the preſervation of their virtuous Mayor.

It was not without reaſon that the factious employed all poſſible means for raiſing the enthuſiaſm of the people in favour of *Petion*. They ſecured his fidelity by it, and added to their party all his ſeditious adherents. It was alſo of advantage to their views that he ſhould be idolized, to render the reſentment of his ſtupid adorers more energetic, and to turn it againſt the King, if the Reſolution of the Department were confirmed, as was expected.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

D. N. SHURY, PRINTER, BERICK STREET.

N.° 1

La personne qui présentera ce billet connaît mes intentions et peut prendre confiance à ce qu'elle dira.

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